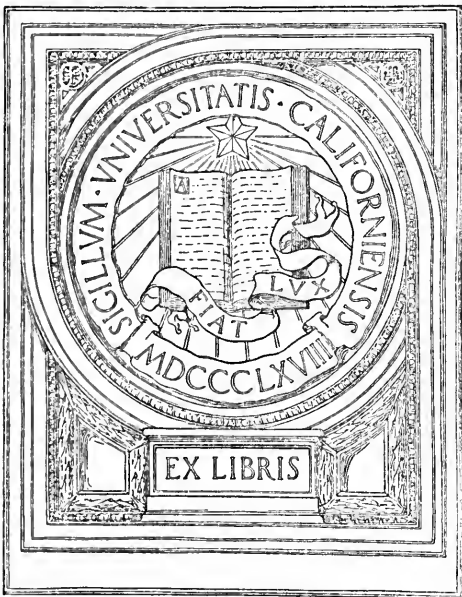


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AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

BY

JEREMY BELKNAP, D.D

WITH

ADDITIONS AND NOTES

BY F. M. HUBBARD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

IN continuing their series of AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY, the publishers believe that no work is more worthy of a place in it than the excellent one of BELKNAP, a new edition of which they now offer. The very frequent reference to it as an authority by more recent writers of American history, the uniform acknowledgment of its singular accuracy by those who have had occasion to investigate anew the lives of those of whom Dr. Belknap has written, the correctness of his judgment, his candour, and the elegance of his style, render it unnecessary for them to say anything farther in commendation of these volumes. They were originally prepared with great labour, and with a scrupulous adherence to facts, and it is believed that the notes and additions to the present edition have been not less laboriously and faithfully made.

The publishers have omitted three sketches which were in the original work, viz., the lives of Cabot, Smith, and Hudson, for the reason that memoirs of the same individuals, somewhat more full, have been

427448

already published by them in former volumes of their series.

The additions to the author's text, which has been exactly followed, are enclosed in brackets, and the notes of the editor are marked by brackets and the letter H.

H. & B.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN preparing a new edition of a work so highly esteemed for its exactness and impartiality, the editor has had a twofold labour. He has re-examined all the statements of facts made by Dr. Belknap, and compared them with the authorities he used, and with others which were not accessible when he wrote. It has been very seldom that he has found occasion to differ from Dr. Belknap, and that most frequently in cases in which documents recently discovered have thrown light upon subjects which the want of them rendered necessarily obscure. It is believed that no work has been published of such magnitude, embracing such a variety of persons and events, and extending over a period of more than six hundred years, in which so few, and those so unimportant, errors are to be found. The manuscript collections yet remaining, from which the work was originally written, prove a degree of careful diligence, and a discriminating and impartial judgment, which have been rarely exercised by the historical inquirer.

The second part of the editor's labour has been to add occasional illustrations and notes. These it was thought proper to make chiefly biographical. They have gradually swelled much beyond his original design; but it would have been more easy to make them larger than smaller. They have been prepared with much care, and it is hoped that they may not prove entirely unworthy of the excellent work to which they are added. In most cases he has given a reference to the sources on which he has relied, not for ostentation, but because some of his readers may choose to investigate and compare for themselves, and because his own statement might not have the weight of an authority.

F. M. H.

Northampton, Mass., May, 1841.

AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

No apology is necessary for the appearance of this work, if its utility be admitted.

My first intention was to place the names in alphabetical order ; but, on farther consideration, it was found to be impracticable, unless the whole work were before me at one view. A chronological arrangement appeared, on the whole, equally proper, and more in my power. Should any deviation from the exact order take place, it must be ascribed to a deficiency of materials ; which, however, it is hoped, will be supplied at some future time.

Boston, January, 1794.

THE author is so much indebted to HAKLUYT and PURCHAS, that he thinks it but just to give some account of them and their writings.

RICHARD HAKLUYT, prebendary of Westminster, was born in Herefordshire, 1553. He early turned his attention to geography, and read lectures in that science at Oxford, where he was educated, and where he introduced maps and globes into the public schools.

In 1582 he published a small collection of voyages and discoveries ; and going two years after as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador to France, he there met with and published a MS. entitled *The Notable History of Florida, by Laudonnierre and other Adventurers*. He returned to England in 1588, when he applied himself to collect, translate, and digest all the voyages, journals, and letters that he could procure, which he published first in one volume, 1589, to which he afterward added two others, and reprinted the first in 1599 and 1600. He was a man of indefatigable diligence and great integrity ; much in favour with Queen Elizabeth's ministry, and largely conversant with seamen. He died in 1616, and his manuscripts fell into the hands of Mr. Purchas.—*Wood and Northouck*.

A complete set of Hakluyt's voyages is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SAMUEL PURCHAS was born at Thackstead, in Essex, 1577, and educated at Cambridge. He was first vicar of Eastwood, in Essex, then rector of St. Martin's, London. He published a folio volume, entitled *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed, in all Ages and Places, &c.* The third edition of it is dated 1617. When Mr. Hakluyt's papers fell into his hands, he compiled

four other volumes, which were printed 1625 ; they are entitled, *Purchas his Pilgrims*. Part i., ii., iii., iv. The whole makes a set of five volumes. They consist of journals, letters, narratives, translations, and abridgments, comprehending all the travels and discoveries made in all parts of the world, and are, with Hakluyt's work, the largest and most authentic collection of the kind extant for that time. By the publishing of this voluminous work Purchas brought himself into debt, and it has been said that he died in prison ; but Northouck says he died in his own house in London, 1628.

A complete set of Purchas's *Pilgrims* is in the library of Harvard College.

I.—B

S K E T C H
OF THE
L I F E A N D C H A R A C T E R
OF THE L A T E
R E V E R E N D D O C T O R B E L K N A P . *

JEREMY BELKNAP, D.D., pastor of the church in Federal-street, was born in this town June 4, 1744 ; had the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School under the care of the celebrated Mr. Lord, and entered Harvard College in 1758.

He discovered, at this early period, such marks of genius and taste, such talents for composition, such a flow of sentiment in conversation, as to engage the esteem of the students, and arrest the attention of his instructors. His friends anticipated a life that would be distinguished, and soon beheld, with satisfaction, that it would be eminently useful.

Having received the honours of the University in 1762, he applied his mind to the various branches of science ; but, feeling very serious impressions of Divine truth, he turned his attention to theology ; and, the more he studied, the more he was captivated with the beauties of re-

* First published in the Columbian Centinel, June 25, 1798.

ligion. The whole bent of his soul was to the work of the ministry, and to this he in the most solemn manner devoted himself. In 1763 he published a pathetic elegy upon the death of his minister, the Rev. Alexander Cuming, which discovered how much he was influenced by devotional sentiments.

When he became a preacher of the Gospel, he was invited to take charge of the church at Dover, in New-Hampshire ; there he passed several years of his valuable life with the esteem and affection of his flock, in habits of intimacy with ministers and other gentlemen of the neighbouring places, all of whom regretted his departure. He received marks of attention and respect from the first characters of the state, who persuaded and encouraged him to compile a history, which does much honour to our country, and has given the author a name and distinction among the first literary characters of the age.

Soon after Dr. Belknap had left the church in Dover, the Presbyterian church in this town became vacant. Having agreed to form their church upon Congregational principles, and invited him to be their pastor, he accepted the call, and was installed April 4th, 1787. Nothing could have been more agreeable to the ministers and people of the other churches, and to all who regarded the interests of the University of Cambridge, with which he became officially connected, being fully confident that he would be a

great instrument in promoting the cause of religion and learning. As an overseer of the college, he was attentive to the concerns of the institution, always taking a lively interest in everything that respected its welfare.

He was an evangelical preacher, but his sermons were filled with a rich variety of observations on human life and manners. He never aimed at a splendid diction, but a vein of piety ran through his discourses, and his style was uncommonly elegant and perspicuous, his arrangements clear and luminous, and his language adapted to the subject. He was sure to gratify equally the tastes of the best judges of composition and the humble inquirers after truth. He had a great readiness in quoting and applying texts of Scripture, and had read much of casuistic, systematic, and polemical divinity; but he chose to give every sentiment a practical turn, and to diffuse that wisdom which is profitable to direct.

During the eleven years of his ministry in this place, the society with which he was connected grew and flourished. The attachment was strong and mutual. While they admired his diligence and fidelity, he received from them every testimony of respect which marks the character of a kind and obliging people.

His attentions to his flock were founded upon a regard to them and the interests of religion. He was their sincere and affectionate friend,

and he experienced peculiar pleasure in giving religious instruction to young children.* He was very active in encouraging those publications which are designed for their use and benefit.

As a husband, parent, brother, or friend, he was tender, affable, kind, and obliging. He gave advice with cheerfulness, and with an attention to the concerns of his friends which invited their confidence.

The friends of Dr. Belknap were numerous. His acquaintance was much increased by his becoming a member of so many literary and benevolent societies; and he was active in promoting the good of every association to which he belonged: wherever he could be of any service, he freely devoted his time and talents.

The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. No man ever had collected a greater number of facts, circumstances, and anecdotes, or a more valuable compilation of manuscripts, which might give information and entertainment to all those who wish to know the history of their own country. In his pursuits of this kind he frequently met with disappointment from the loss of valuable papers; and he often mentioned to his friends in New-Hamp-

* In this pleasing office he was engaged in the afternoon of the day previous to his decease, at a public catechising of the children of his society.

shire and Boston, that it was necessary to preserve them by multiplying copies, and making it the principal duty and interest of an association to collect them, and to study their value. The proposals of Dr. Belknap met with the approbation and encouragement of several gentlemen in this town and its environs, and the society was incorporated in 1794.

As an author, Dr. Belknap appears with great reputation, whether we consider his fugitive performances, which often appeared without a name, or his larger works, which have been celebrated in America and Europe. He wrote much in the cause of freedom and his country before our Revolution; and his patriotic ardour was as strong and sincere of late as in former years. He was attached to the Federal Constitution of these states, which he thought to be the bulwark of freedom and good government: he was fully persuaded that it had been wisely and purely administered; and in his conversation, as well as in several of his public performances, manifested a conviction that a firm and uniform support of it was essentially necessary to the liberty and prosperity of our country.

The first volume of the American Biography excited a strong desire in the minds of the readers to have the work continued. A second volume is now in the press; and the tears of genius are shed, that a work of so much entertainment and information could not be finished by the same

hand. His mind was richly furnished with this kind of knowledge, and he wrote for the public benefit. The love of fame was only a secondary consideration ; his mind seemed to glow with a desire of being useful.

The frequent returns of ill health to which this worthy man was subject, gave an anxiety to his friends, and led him to think that his days could not be long upon the earth. This stimulated his exertions, that he might do the more service while the day lasted.

But he was seized suddenly with a paralytic disorder at four o'clock, and died before eleven on Wednesday morning.*

* Dr. Belknap's anticipations and humble indications of his choice relative to the manner of his death, may be perceived in the following lines, which were found among his papers after his decease, and which were composed by him probably at the time noted at the bottom, upon the sudden death of one of his acquaintances :

When faith and patience, hope and love,
Have made us meet for heaven above,
How bless'd the privilege to rise,
Snatch'd in a moment to the skies,
Unconscious to resign our breath,
Nor taste the bitterness of Death.
Such be my lot, Lord, if thou please.
To die in silence and at ease :
When Thou dost know that I'm prepared,
O seize me quick to my reward.
But if thy wisdom sees it best
To turn thine ear from this request ;
If sickness be the appointed way
To waste this frame of human clay

His remains were interred on Friday last, with every testimony of respect from the inhabitants of the town. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland preached an affectionate discourse from John, ix., 4. The whole assembly expressed their sorrow for the loss of one so near and dear to them as a brother and friend ; so amiable in the more tender relations of domestic life, so exemplary as a Christian, so useful as a minister, so respectable in all the public offices he sustained. Who does not readily acknowledge the worth and excellence of such a character ?

List of Dr. Belknap's Publications.

- A Sermon upon Military Duty, preached at Dover, 1772.
 - A Serious Address to a Parishioner upon the neglect of Public Worship.
 - A Sermon on Jesus Christ, the only Foundation, preached before an association of ministers in New-Hampshire.
 - Election Sermon, preached at Portsmouth, 1784.
-

If, worn with grief and rack'd with pain,
This earth must turn to earth again,
Then let thine angels round me stand,
Support me by thy powerful hand ;
Let not my faith or patience move,
Nor aught abate my hope or love ;
But brighter may my graces shine,
Till they're absorb'd in light divine.

February 9, 1791.

A Sermon at the ordination of the Rev. Jedediah Morse, 1789.

A Discourse, delivered at the request of the Historical Society, October, 1792; being the Completion of the Third Century from Columbus's Discovery of America.

Dissertations upon the Character and Resurrection of Christ, 1 vol. 12mo.

Collections of Psalms and Hymns, 1 vol. 12mo.

Convention Sermon, 1796.

A Sermon on the Day of the National Fast, May 9th, 1798.

Dr. Belknap's Historical Works are,
History of New-Hampshire, 3 vols. 8vo.

The Foresters; an American Tale: being a sequel to the History of John Bull, the Clothier, 1 vol. 12mo.

American Biography, 2 vols. 8vo.

He published also several Essays upon the African Trade; upon Civil and Religious Liberty; upon the State and Settlement of this Country, in periodical papers, in the *Columbian Magazine*, printed in Philadelphia, in the *Boston Magazine*, 1784, in the *Historical Collections*, and in newspapers.

Extract from the Rev. Mr. Kirkland's Sermon at the interment of the Rev. Dr. Belknap

"In an eminent manner did the person we lament appear to consider himself, with all his endowments and opportunities, as placed in th

world by the Great Moral Governor, and bound by the strongest obligations and motives to be faithful, active, and persevering in the duties of this station. In few instances have time and talents been so diligently, conscientiously, and usefully employed. A genius active and original, a judgment distinguished and correct, and a retentive memory, improved by a learned education and habitual and close industry, and united to Christian faith and temper, could not fail to make a character of eminent usefulness and honour. We have reason to bless the great Head of the Church that he devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and entered into the spirit of his office. With what diligence and zeal he strove to acquire and communicate a Christian knowledge, none present can be ignorant. Seizing the early hour of the day, superior to the enticements of indolence, abhorring idleness, finishing whatever study or inquiry he had begun, and using recreations and visits as preparations for serious pursuits, his mind became enriched with a large store of theological and evangelical learning. But his ardent curiosity did not confine itself to the mere studies of his profession. Not by slighting any of the public or private duties of his office, but by superior economy of time and industry, he redeemed leisure to carry his researches into other fields of literature, suited to gratify his taste and increase his usefulness. How well he join-

ed to theology and general literature the knowledge of human nature and the character of men, was evinced by his discourses, adapted to real life, and unfolding the secret springs of action ; and by his conversation and behaviour, suited to persons, times, and places.

“Such intellectual and moral attainments could not but render him an important character to the world, to his country, and to the religious, literary, and domestic societies with which he was connected. The world has reaped the fruits of his labours and researches, not only in his professional studies, but in other departments of literature ; in writings which will maintain their reputation so long as readers of piety and taste and lovers of historical truth remain. It is a painful circumstance attending his death, that it stops the progress of a useful and interesting work, for which the public voice pronounces him peculiarly qualified, and which the world of letters hoped he might extend through the successive periods of his country’s history.*

“How he magnified the office of the Christian ministry, you and others who enjoyed his ministrations, who joined in his prayers, who sat under his preaching, and who saw him in the private duties of his station, can better conceive than I describe. If a judicious and seasonable choice of subjects, pertinacity in thought, clearness in method, and warmth in application ; if

* The American Biography.

language plain and perspicuous, polished and nervous ; if striking illustration ; if evangelical doctrines and motives ; if a seriousness and fervour, evincing that the preacher's own mind was affected ; if a pronounciation free and natural, distinct and emphatical, are excellences in public teaching, you, my brethren of this society, have possessed them in your deceased pastor. Your attention was never drawn from the great practical views of the Gospel by the needless introduction of controversial subjects, nor your minds perplexed, nor your devotional feelings damped by the cold subtleties of metaphysics. His preaching was designed to make you good and happy, and not to gain your applause. While the manner, as well as the matter, was suited to affect the heart, no attempt was made to overbear your imaginations and excite your passions by clamorous and affected tones.

“While the Church is deprived of a distinguished minister, the republic of letters of an accomplished scholar and writer, the country mourns a patriot. Ever a strenuous assertor of the rights of the colonies in speech and writing, and a warm friend of the Revolution which accomplished the independence of the United States, he was also a decided advocate and supporter of the government of our own choice which succeeded, and of the Constitution of the states in union, which he considered the bulwark of our national security and welfare. His love

of true liberty was equal to his hatred of licentiousness; his zeal for the equal rights of man to his zeal for the defeat of faction and anarchy. Actuated by public spirit, and viewing it the duty of every citizen to throw his whole weight into the scale on the side of law and order, he was earnest in his wishes and prayers for the government of his country, and in critical periods took an open and unequivocal, and, as far as professional private duties allowed, an active part.

“The academies and societies instituted for arts and sciences, for promoting historical knowledge and humanity, as well as the University, are deprived of all that assistance and support which, as far as health permitted, they derived from one whose preponderating desire was to do good, whose solid mind was superior to the vanity of applause, and valued everything in proportion to its utility.

“As a son, a husband, a father, a brother, a friend, and neighbour, what he was their bleeding hearts can tell who were connected with him in these interesting relations; who knew his kind and cheerful temper, his sincere and guileless disposition, his disinterested benevolence, and his activity in every good work.”

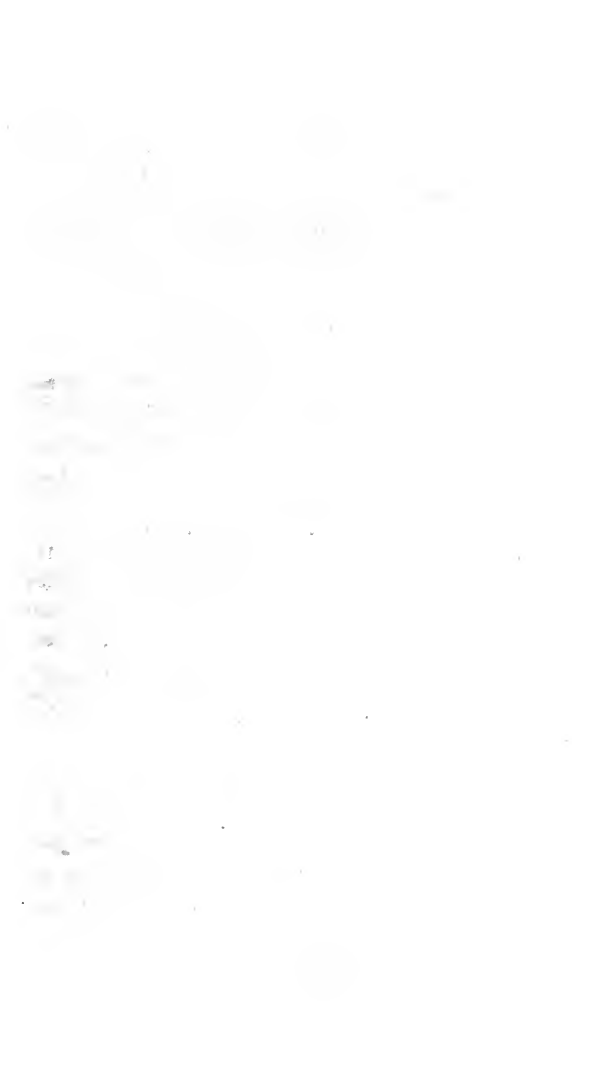
CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION	Page 2
CHRONOLOGICAL DETAIL	59

BIRON	77
MADOC	129
ZENO	138
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	156
JAMES CARTIER	230
FERDINANDO DE SOTO	258
HUMPHREY GILBERT	272
WALTER RALEIGH AND RICHARD GRENVILLE	289



PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

ON THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS, AND ITS PROBABLE CONSEQUENCE, THE POPULATION OF SOME PART OF AMERICA.

THE first navigators of whom we have any account were the Phœnicians, who were scattered along the coasts of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. As early as the days of Moses they had extended their navigation beyond the Pillars of Hercules, on the western coast of Africa towards the south, and as far northward as the Island of Britain, whence they imported tin and lead,* which, according to the universal testimony of the ancients, were not then found in any other country.

From the accounts given in ancient history of the expeditions of Sesostris, king of Egypt, some have been led to conclude that he made a discovery of *all* the coasts of Africa.† However this might be, there is no doubt that

* See Numbers, ch. xxxi., v. 22.

† Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, p. 7.

he opened, or revived a commercial intercourse with India and Ethiopia by way of the Red Sea. It hath also been thought that the voyages of the Phœnicians and Hebrews to Ophir, in the time of Solomon, were nothing more nor less than circumnavigations of Africa.*

But, leaving these, for the present, in the region of conjecture, the earliest regular account which we have of any voyage round the Continent of Africa is that performed by order of Necho, king of Egypt, and recorded by Herodotus; the most ancient historian, except the sacred writers, whose works have come down to our time. His character as a historian is "candid in his acknowledgment of what is uncertain, and absolute when he speaks of what he knows." The date of Necho's reign is fixed by Rollin 616 years before Christ. The date of Herodotus's history is placed by Dufresnoy in the third year of the 83d Olympiad, answering to 446 years before Christ: so that he must have penned his narration of this voyage in less than two centuries after it was performed. I shall give his account at large, in a literal translation from the Geneva edition of his work, in

* Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, p. 7.

Greek and Latin, by Stephanus.* In describing the several great divisions of the earth, he speaks thus :

“ I wonder at those who have divided and distinguished Libya,† Asia, and Europe, between which there is not a little difference. If, indeed, Europe agrees with the others in length, yet in breadth it does not seem to me worthy to be compared. For Libya shows itself to be *surrounded by the sea*, except where it joins to Asia. Necos, king of the Egyptians, being the first of those whom we know to demonstrate it. After he had desisted from digging a ditch from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf (in which work above twenty thousand Egyptians perished), he betook himself to raising armies and building ships, partly in the North Sea,‡ and partly in the Arabian Gulf, at the Red Sea, of which they yet show some remains.§ He sent certain Phœnicians in ships, commanding them that, having passed the Pillars of Hercules, they should penetrate the North Sea, and so return to Egypt. The Phœnicians, therefore, loos-

* Lib. iv., chap. 42.

† Libya is the name by which the whole Continent of Africa was called by the Greeks.

‡ By the North Sea is meant the Mediterranean, which lies north of Egypt.

§ Lib. ii., ch. 48.

ing from the Red Sea, went away into the Southern Sea, and, directing their ships to land, *made a seed-time* at the end of autumn, that they might expect a harvest, and might assiduously coast Libya. Then, having gathered the harvest, they sailed.* Thus, two years being consumed, in the third year, coming round the Pillars of Hercules, they returned to Egypt, reporting things which with me have no credit, but may perhaps with others, that *in sailing round Libya they had the sun on the right hand.*† In this manner it was first known.

“In the second place, the Carthaginians have said that a certain Sataspes, son of Teaspis, a man of the Achamenides, did not sail round Libya when he was sent, but, being deterred by the length of the navigation and the solitude of the country, returned home, having not fulfilled the labour which his mother enjoined him. For he had violated a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, the son of Megabysus; and for that cause being by Xerxes condemned to be crucified, his

* “Into whatever part of Libya seamen came, they waited for harvest, and when they had reaped they loosed from the shore.”—(Note of Stephanus.)

† I. e., They being in the southern hemisphere, and sailing westward, saw the meridian sun on the right hand.

mother, who was sister to Darius, liberated him, because, she said, she would impose on him a punishment greater than the king's command. Wherefore it became necessary for him to sail round all Libya, till he should come to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes consenting to this, Sataspes went into Egypt, and, having there taken a ship and companions, sailed to the Pillars of Hercules. Having passed them, and having doubled the promontory of Libya called Syloes,* he kept a southern course. Having traversed much of the sea in many months, and finding much more time necessary, he turned about and came back to Egypt. Returning to Xerxes, he reported that, in visiting the remotest coasts, he had seen small men, clothed in Phœnician garments, who, at the approach of his ship, fled to the mountains and left their villages, which he entered, and took nothing from them but cattle. He gave this reason for not having sailed round Libya, that his ship could sail no farther, but was stopped. Xerxes did not believe him, and because he had not performed his engagement, ordered him to undergo his destined punishment."

* Now called Cape Bojador, in the 26th degree of north latitude.

To the authenticity of this circumnavigation of the African Continent, the following objections have been made :

First, it is said that “ the vessels which the ancients employed were so small as not to afford stowage for provisions sufficient to subsist a crew during a long voyage.”

Secondly, “ their construction was such that they could seldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of steering along the coast was so circuitous and slow, that we may pronounce a voyage from the Mediterranean to India by the Cape of Good Hope to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accomplish, in such a manner as to render it in any degree subservient to commerce. To this decision, the account preserved by Herodotus of a voyage performed by some Phœnician ships employed by the King of Egypt can hardly be considered as repugnant.”*

* Robertson's India, p. 175, American edition.

The objections taken from this learned author were not made directly against the voyage mentioned by Herodotus, but rather against the possibility of a passage to India by way of the Atlantic Ocean and round the African Continent. However, as he brings this voyage into view in the same argument, and speaks of it dubiously, it is conceived that his sentiments are not misrepresented in the above quotations.

I have chosen to consider both these objections together, because that each one helps to destroy the other. For if the vessels were so small as not to contain provisions for a long voyage, this was one reason for the navigators to keep their course near the land, that they might find water, fruits, game, and cattle on the shore, as well as fish on the shoals and rocks near the coast, for their subsistence. And if it was their design to keep near the land for the sake of discovery, small vessels were best adapted to the purpose, because they could pass over shoals, through small openings, between islands and rocks, which are generally situate near the coasts of great continents. Besides, if the vessels were small, they could carry but small crews, who would not require very large quantities of provision.

But Herodotus has helped us to solve the difficulty respecting provisions in a manner perfectly agreeable to the practice of antiquity, though unknown to modern navigators. They went on shore and sowed corn, and when it was ripe gathered the harvest. This enables us to account for two circumstances attending the voyage of Necho: the length of time employed, and the supply of provision, at least of bread, consumed in it.

Nor was the sowing and reaping any loss of time ; for the monsoons in the Indian Ocean would not permit them to proceed any faster. A ship sailing from the Red Sea with the N.E. monsoon in the summer or autumn, would meet with the S.W. monsoon in the beginning of December, which must have detained her in some of the harbours on the eastern coast of Africa till the next April. During this time, in that warm climate, corn might be sown and reaped ; and any other articles, either of provision or merchandise, might be taken on board. Then the N.E. monsoon would carry her to the southern parts of Africa, into the region of variable winds. This regular course and changing of the monsoons was familiarly known to the navigators of Solomon's ships, and was the cause of their spending three years in the voyage to and from Ophir. "In going and returning they changed the monsoon six times, which made thirty-six months. They needed no longer time to complete the voyage, and they could not perform it in less."*

It is not pleaded that the voyage of Necho was undertaken for the sake of commerce ; or, if the authenticity of it were established,

* Bruce's Travels, b. ii., chap. iv.

that it would prove the practicability of a voyage from the Mediterranean to India round the Cape of Good Hope, by the vessels then in use and the nautical skill then acquired. The voyage of which Herodotus speaks might have been a voyage of discovery; such a one as was perfectly agreeable to the genius of the people by whom it was performed, and of the prince by whose order and at whose expense it was undertaken. "The progress of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, in their knowledge of the globe, was not owing entirely to the desire of extending their trade from one country to another. Commerce was followed by its usual effects among both those people. It awakened curiosity, enlarged the ideas and desires of men, and incited them to bold enterprises. Voyages were undertaken, the sole object of which was to "*discover new countries and to explore unknown seas.*"* The knowledge acquired in these voyages of discovery might afterward be subservient to commerce; and though the Phœnicians might not think it convenient to circumnavigate Africa more than once, yet that they carried on a commercial intercourse with different parts of that country, and particularly with places

* Robertson's America, vol. i., p. 11, 4th edit.

situate on the eastern coast, in the Indian Ocean, we have evidence from the sacred writings. In the reign of Solomon, "the king's ships, with the servants of Hiram and the navy of Tharshish, every three years brought ivory,* apes, and peacocks, besides silver and the gold of *Ophir*," which is with great reason supposed to be the country now called *Sofala*, on the eastern coast of Africa, in the southern hemisphere, as the learned Bruce, in his late book of travels, has satisfactorily proved.

The prophet Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Necho, king of Egypt, in the account which he gives of the merchandise of Tyre, enumerates several commodities which it is well known belong to Africa, "horns of ivory and ebony, and the persons of men."† We may form some idea of the strength and materials of the ships of the Tyrians, and of their skill in navigation, from the following passages in his apostrophe to Tyrus. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars of Lebanon to make masts for thee; of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars. Thy wise men,

* 2 Chron., viii., 18; ix., 21.

† Ezekiel, chap. xxvii., ver. 13, 15.

O Tyrus, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal, the wise men thereof, were thy calkers. The ships of Tharshish did sing of thee ; thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas ; thy rowers have brought thee into great waters." Though we have no particular description of the size or model of their ships, yet they certainly had masts, sails, and oars ; their pilots and calkers were wise men, and they were not afraid to sail in great waters, by which is probably meant the Ocean, in distinction from the Mediterranean.

Of the form and structure of the Grecian vessels we have a more particular knowledge. "They were of inconsiderable burden, and mostly without decks. They had only one mast, and were strangers to the use of anchors."* But then it must be remembered that "the Phœnicians, who instructed the Greeks in other useful arts, did not communicate to them that extensive knowledge of navigation which they themselves possessed."† We may hence conclude that the ships of the Phœnicians were superior to the Grecian vessels ; and we have no evidence, from the structure of their vessels or their mode of sailing, to warrant a doubt of the

* Robertson's America, vol. i., p. 15.

† Ibid., p. 14.

ability of their ships or seamen to perform a voyage round the Continent of Africa in three years.

To a European theorist such a voyage may seem less practicable than to an American. The Europeans have usually employed none but ships of great burden in their trade to India and China; but, since the Americans have visited those countries, sloops of fifty or sixty tons have sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to China, and round Cape Horn to the northwest coast of America, and across the North Pacific Ocean. If any doubt can yet remain, it may be entirely removed by the recollection of a voyage performed in the year 1789 by Lieutenant Bligh, of the British navy; who, being turned adrift by his mutinous crew, traversed the South Pacific Ocean, above twelve hundred leagues, in a boat of twenty-three feet long, without a deck, in much stormy weather, with scanty provisions; and, having passed many dangerous rocks and shoals, among unknown islands, arrived in forty-one days at a Dutch settlement in Timor, one of the Moluccas.* The objections, then, against the reality of Necho's voyage, from the size and structure

* See the printed narrative by Lieut. Bligh.

of the Phœnician vessels and the want of provision, are not so formidable on examination as at the first appearance.*

A third objection against the credibility of

* Since this dissertation was sent to the press I have met with the following account of an adventure, which adds to the credibility of the circumnavigation of Africa in small embarcations.

In 1534, when the Portuguese had established a government in India, Badur, king of Kambaya, being at war with the Great Mogul, sought assistance from the Portuguese, and offered them the liberty of building a fort at Diu. As soon as this liberty was granted and the plan of the fort was drawn, James Botello, a person skilled in the affairs of India, having been in disgrace with John, king of Portugal, and being anxious to recover the favour of that prince, resolved to carry the first news of it to him. Having obtained a copy of the plan, he set out from India in a bark *sixteen feet long, nine broad, and four and a half deep*, with three Portuguese, two others, and his own slaves. He pretended that he was going to Kambaya, but when he was out at sea, made known his design to go to Lisbon, at which they were all astonished. Being overcome by fair words, they proceeded on their way, till, finding themselves reduced to distress, the slaves agreed to kill Botello; but, after killing a servant, they were put to death themselves. With the four who remained Botello held on his course, doubled the southern cape of Africa, and at length arrived at Lisbon, where the bark was immediately *burned*, that no man might see it was possible to perform that voyage in so small a vessel. The king was greatly pleased with the news, and restored Botello to his favour, without any other reward for so daring an adventure.

See a collection of *Voyages and Travels*, in quarto, printed at London, 1745, by Thomas Astley, vol. i., p. 82.

this early circumnavigation is, that several writers of the greatest eminence among the ancients, and most distinguished for their knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amusing tale than the history of a real transaction, and either entertained doubts concerning the possibility of sailing round Africa, or absolutely denied it.”* That the Roman geographers and historians did doubt and disbelieve the story is very evident; and the causes are not far to be sought.

The first was the jealousy of the Phœnicians. “Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phœnicians or Carthaginians acquired, was concealed from the rest of mankind with a mercantile jealousy. Everything relative to the course of navigation was a secret of state as well as a mystery of trade. Extraordinary facts are recorded concerning their solicitude to prevent other nations from penetrating into what they wished should remain undivulged.”† One of these extraordinary facts is thus related by Strabo. The Romans, being desirous to discover the places whence the Carthagin-

* Robertson’s India, p. 175.

† Robertson’s America, vol. i., p. 13.

ians fetched tin and amber, “sent a vessel, with orders to sail in the wake of a Phœnician vessel. This being observed by the Carthaginian, he purposely ran his vessel among rocks and sand-banks, so that it was lost, together with that of the inquisitive Roman. The patriotic commander of the former was indemnified for his loss by his country.”*

A second reason was the pride of the Romans. If, as Pope tells us,

“With honest scorn, the first famed Cato viewed
Rome, learning arts from Greece whom she subdued ;”

the same pride would make their wise men scorn to learn geography or navigation, theoretically, from those best able to teach them. It is acknowledged that the Romans “did not imbibe that commercial spirit and ardour for discovery which distinguished their rivals.”† It must also be observed, that there was but little intercourse between them, and that the Carthaginians were deficient in those sciences for which the Romans were famous. Among the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, the study and knowledge of their youth were confined to writing, arithmetic, and mercan-

* Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, ch. i.

† Robertson's America, vol. i., p. 14.

tile accounts, while polite literature, history, and philosophy were in little repute; and by a law of Carthage, the study of the Greek language was prohibited, lest any communication should be carried on with their enemies.*

A third reason was the opinion which the wisest men among the Romans had formed, and to which they obstinately adhered, concerning the five zones, and the impossibility of passing from one hemisphere to the other, because of the torrid zone lying between. This doctrine of the zones is so fully represented by Dr. Robertson,† that I need only refer the reader to what he has written on the subject.

But, notwithstanding the doubts and the infidelity of the Roman philosophers, and the great deference paid to them by this learned and cautious inquirer, there is one circumstance which *almost* convinced him of the reality of Necho's voyage as related by Herodotus. It is this, that the Phœnicians, in sailing round Africa, "had the sun on their right hand;" which Herodotus, with his usual modesty and candour, says, "with me has

* Rollin's Ancient History, book ii., part i., sect. 7.

† Robertson's America, vol. i., note 8.

no credit, though it may with others." On this the doctor judiciously remarks, "The science of astronomy was in that early period so imperfect, that it was by experience only that the Phœnicians could come at the knowledge of this fact; they durst not, without this, have ventured to assert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction."* Indeed, if they had not known it by experience, there is not the least conceivable reason for their inventing such a report, nor even for the entrance of such an idea into their imagination. The modest doubt of Herodotus is another argument in favour of the truth and genuineness of it; for, as he had no experience to guide him, and the idea was new, it was very proper for him to hesitate in admitting it, though he showed his impartiality by inserting it in his relation.

So much for the voyage performed by the Phœnicians under the orders of Necho, which is the *first* proof produced by Herodotus of his position that "Lybia is surrounded by the sea except where it joins Asia."

His *second* proof is not so conclusive, nor is the design of his introducing it so obvious. It is the relation of a voyage undertaken by

Sataspes, a Persian, whose punishment was commuted from crucifixion to sailing round Lybia; which voyage he began, but returned by the same route, not having completed it. The reason which he gave for returning was, that "his ship was stopped and could sail no farther," which his sovereign did not believe, and therefore put him to death, to which he had before been condemned.

The only evidence which this story can afford is, that the circumnavigation of the African Continent was at that time thought practicable. The mother of Sataspes thought so, or she would not have proposed it; and Xerxes thought so, or he would not have disbelieved the story of the ship being stopped; by which expression was meant that the sea was no farther navigable by reason of land.

The exact date of this voyage is not ascertained; but, as Xerxes reigned twelve years, and died in the year 473 before Christ, it could not have been much more than thirty years preceding the time when Herodotus published his history.

The voyage of Hanno, the Carthaginian, is thus briefly mentioned by Pliny: "In the flourishing state of Carthage, Hanno, having

sailed round from Gades [Cadiz] to the border of Arabia, committed to writing an account of his voyage ; as did Himilco, who was, at the same time, sent to discover the extreme parts of Europe.”* The character of Pliny as a historian is, that “he collected from all authors, good and bad, who had written before him ; and that his work is a mixture of truth and error, which it is difficult to separate.” An instance in confirmation of this remark occurs in this very chapter, where he speaks of some merchants sailing from India, and thrown by a tempest on the coast of Germany. He also mentions a voyage made by Eudoxus from the Arabian Gulf to Gades, and another of Cœlius Antipater from Spain to Ethiopia.

Of these voyages, that of Hanno is best authenticated. He sailed from Carthage with sixty galleys, each carrying fifty oars, having on board thirty thousand men and women, with provisions and articles of traffic. The design of this equipment was to plant colonies along the western shore of Africa, which the Carthaginians, from priority of discovery, and from its contiguity to their territory, considered as their own dominion. Hanno was

* Pliny's Natural History, lib. ii., cap. 67.

absent five years on this colonizing expedition ; but there is no *certainty* of his having proceeded any farther southward than the Bay of Benin, in the eighth degree of north latitude. A fragment of his journal, which, at his return, he deposited in the temple of Saturn at Carthage, is now extant ; and though it has been treated as fabulous by several authors, ancient and modern, yet its authenticity has been vindicated by M. Bougainville, in the 26th volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, where a French translation of it is given from the Greek, into which language it was rendered from the original Punic.

Concerning the voyage of Eudoxus, the following account is given by Bruce.* He was sent by Ptolemy Euergetes as an ambassador to India, to remove the bad effects of the king's conduct in the beginning of his reign, who had extorted contributions from merchants of that and other trading countries. Eudoxus returned after the king's death, and was wrecked on the coast of Ethiopia, where

* Travels, book ii., chap. 5. The voyage of Eudoxus was originally written by *Posidonius*, but I have not met with that author.

he discovered the prow of a ship which had suffered the same fate. It was the figure of a horse; and a sailor, who had been employed in European voyages, knew this to have been part of one of those vessels which traded on the Atlantic Ocean, of which trade Gades was the principal port. This circumstance amounted to a proof that there was a passage round Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. The discovery was of no greater importance to any person than to Eudoxus himself; for, some time afterward, falling under the displeasure of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and being in danger of his life, he fled, and, embarking on the Red Sea, sailed round Africa and came to Gades.

This voyage of Eudoxus was treated as a fable by Strabo, the Roman geographer, who wrote about a century and a half after the time when it is said to have been performed. The true cause of the incredulity of him and of other Roman authors in respect to these voyages and discoveries was the doctrine of the zones, to which they inflexibly adhered, and which entirely precluded all conviction.

These are all the evidences which I have had opportunity to examine respecting the

question of the circumnavigation of Africa,* and, upon the whole, there appears to be this peculiarity attending the subject, that it was believed by those who lived nearest to the time when the voyage of Necho is said to have been made; and that, in proportion to the distance of time afterward, it was doubted, disbelieved, and denied, till its credibility was established beyond all doubt by the Portuguese adventurers in the fifteenth century.

The credibility of the Egyptian or Phœnician voyages round the Continent of Africa being admitted, and the certainty of the Carthaginian voyages and colonies on the western shore of Africa being established, we may extend our inquiry to the probability of what has been advanced by some writers, and doubted or denied by others, the population of some parts of America from beyond the Atlantic.

The discovery of the Canary Islands by the Carthaginians is a fact well attested. Pliny

* Dr. *Forster*, in his history of voyages and discoveries (chap. i.), refers to three German authors, *Gesner*, *Schlozer*, and *Michaelis*, who have written on this subject, and observes, that "the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians and Egyptians is proved almost to a demonstration."

speaks of them as then destitute of inhabitants, but containing (*vestigia ædificiorum*) the remains of buildings. From this circumstance it must appear that they had been inhabited before the Carthaginian discovery. In Plutarch's time, the Fortunate Islands were not only inhabited, but were so celebrated for their fertility that they were supposed to be the seat of the blessed.

When Madeira and Porto Santo were discovered by the Normans and Portuguese, both were uninhabited. A question then arises, If these islands were sometimes inhabited and at other times deserted, what became of their inhabitants? It must have been some uncommon event which could induce them to abandon so pleasant and fruitful a country without leaving a single family behind. If they perished in the islands, it is still more extraordinary; for it is a most singular circumstance that all the inhabitants of any place should be destroyed, and yet the place itself remain. George Glas, who published a history of these islands in 1764, attempts to solve the inquiry thus:*

“Almost two thirds of the Canary Islands are covered with calcined rocks, pumice

* Page 167, 4to.

stones, and black ashes, which have been formerly thrown out from volcanoes, the remains of which are still seen in every one of these islands. Many of the natives might have been destroyed by these violent eruptions, and the remainder, being terrified, might abandon their country and go in quest of new habitations: but where they went is a question not easily solved, though some assert that they passed over to America.* An event exactly similar is said by the same author to have happened about thirty years before he wrote.* “A volcano broke out in the S.W. part of the island of Lancerotta, near the sea, but remote from habitation, which threw out such an immense quantity of ashes and stones, with so dreadful a noise, that many of the natives deserted their houses and fled to Fuertaventura, another island, for the preservation of their lives.”

But whether we admit the conjecture that, being thus obliged to quit the islands, they “passed over to America,” or not, yet it is extremely probable that, in some of the ancient circumnavigations of Africa, or in passing to and from these islands, or even in coasting the continent from the Straits of Gib-

raltar, some vessels might be drawn by currents or driven by tempests within the verge of the trade-wind; "which begins not far to the southward of the straits, and blows nine months of the year on the coast of Morocco." In this case it would be next to impossible for those who had met with any considerable damage in their masts, sails, or rigging, to run in any other direction than before the wind to the westward, and this course must bring them to the continent, or islands of America.

In confirmation of this remark, several facts have been adduced by way of proof. One is thus related by Glas:* "A few years ago, a small bark, laden with corn and passengers, bound from Lancerotta to Teneriffe, met with some disaster at sea, by which she was rendered incapable of getting to any of the Canary Islands, and was obliged to run many days before the wind, till she came within two days sail of the coast of Caraccas, in South America, where she met an English ship, which supplied the surviving passengers with water, and directed her to the port of La Guiara, on that coast." La Guiara is one of the ports to which the trade from the Ca-

* Introduction, page 5.

naries is restricted by the King of Spain, and the run thither from Teneriffe is generally performed in less than thirty days with the trade-wind.*

Another fact is taken from Gumilla,† who says, “In December, 1731, while I was at the town of St. Joseph, in the Island of Trinidad, a small vessel of Teneriffe, with six seamen, was driven into that island by stress of weather. She was laden with wine, and bound for one other of the Canary Islands ; she had provision only for a few days, which, notwithstanding the utmost care, had been expended, and the crew subsisted wholly on wine. They were reduced to the last extremity, and were received with astonishment by the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to see them. Their emaciated appearance would have sufficiently confirmed the truth of their story, if the papers which they produced had not put the matter beyond all doubt.”

A third fact is related by Herrera, the royal Spanish historian.‡ Columbus, in his second voyage to America, having discovered

* Introduction, p. 329, 333.

† Cited by Edwards in his *History of the W. Indies*, vol. i., p. 109.

‡ Decad. i., book ii., chap. vii.

the Island of Guadaloupe, “found a piece of timber belonging to a ship, which the seamen call the stern-post, which they much admired, not knowing which way it should come thither, unless carried by tempestuous weather from the Canaries, or from the Island of Hispaniola,” where the admiral’s ship was cast away in his former voyage. Ferdinand Columbus, in the life of his father,* does not distinctly assert this, but speaks of their finding “an iron pan,” and endeavours to account for it by saying, “that the stones there being of the colour of iron, a person of an indifferent judgment might mistake the one for the other.” Not content with this solution, he goes on thus: “though it were of iron, it was not to be admired, because the Indians of the Island of Guadaloupe, being Caribbees, and making their excursions to rob as far as Hispaniola, perhaps they had that pan of the Christians, or of the other Indians of Hispaniola; and it is possible they might carry the *body of the ship* the admiral lost to make use of the iron; and though it were not the *hulk* of that ship, it might be the remainder of some other wreck, carried thither by the wind and current from our parts.”

* Chapter xlvii., in Churchill’s Collections, vol. ii.

The improbability of the Indians having carried “the *body* or *hulk* of the ship which the admiral lost” from the northern side of Hispaniola to the eastern side of Guadaloupe, will appear from the distance, which is not less than two hundred leagues in a direction opposite to the constant blowing of the wind. Nor will Herrera’s conjecture, that the stern-post of the admiral’s ship was carried thither by a tempest, be readily admitted by any who are acquainted with the navigation of the West Indies; for it must have passed through a multitude of islands and rocks, and, without a miracle, could scarcely have come entire from so great a distance in such foul seas. But the difficulty is farther increased by considering what Don Ferdinand and Herrera have both asserted, that, when Columbus had lost his ship, “he built a fort with the timber, whereof he lost no part, but made use of it all;”^{*} and this fort was afterward burned by the natives. If, therefore, there be any truth in the story of the stern-post found at Guadaloupe, it must have belonged to some other vessel, either foundered at sea or wrecked on the shore.

Under the head of fortuitous visits to the

^{*} Life of Columbus, chap. xxxiv. Herrera, book i., chap. xviii.

American Continent may be included a circumstance mentioned by Peter Martyr,* that, not far from a place called Quarequa in the Gulf of Darien, Vasco Nunez met with a colony of negroes. From the smallness of their number it was supposed that they had not been long arrived on that coast.† These negroes could have come in no other vessels but canoes; a circumstance by no means incredible to those who have read the accounts of Cook and other navigators of the tropical seas.

To these facts may be added the casual discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese commander Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in his voyage to India in the year 1500, an account of which is preserved by Dr. Robertson.‡ “In order to avoid the calms near the coast of Africa, he stood out to sea, and kept so far west that, to his surprise, he found himself on the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree of south latitude. He imagined at first that it was some island in the Atlantic Ocean; but, proceeding along its coast for several days, he was gradually led to believe

* *De orbe novo*, Decad. iii., chap. i.

† *Edwards's Hist. West Indies*, vol. i. p. 110.

‡ *Hist. America*, vol. i., p. 151.

that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent."

These instances may serve as so many specimens of the manner in which America might have proved an asylum to some of the ancient navigators of the African coasts or of the Canary Islands; and being arrived, it would be impossible for them to return. The same winds which brought them hither, continuing to blow from the eastward, would either discourage them from making the attempt, or oblige them to put back if they had made it. No argument, then, can be drawn from hence in favour of a mutual intercourse between this and the old continent. Those who would prove that America was known to the ancients must produce better evidence than they have yet produced, if they contend for any other knowledge than what was acquired by casual discoverers who never returned.

The opinion that America was peopled in part by the Phœnicians was long since maintained by Hornius; and, though rejected by many succeeding writers, has been lately revived by Bryan Edwards,* a well-informed merchant of the Island of Jamaica.

* Hist. W. Indies, vol. i., p. 103, 4to.

He extends the argument no farther than to the Charaibe nation, who inhabited the Windward Islands and some part of the Southern Continent, "whose manners and characteristic features denote a different ancestry from the generality of the American nations." In support of this opinion, he has produced, perhaps, as much evidence from a similarity of manners and language as a subject of such remote antiquity can admit.

To this elegant work I must refer the reader, and shall add one only remark, arising from the preceding observations, that if any accession of inhabitants was made to America by the desultory migration of the Phœnician or Carthaginian navigators, it is most rational to look for them between the tropics, the very place where the Charaibes were found



A CHRONOLOGICAL

DETAIL OF ADVENTURES AND DISCOVERIES MADE BY
THE EUROPEAN NATIONS IN AMERICA BEFORE THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF PLYMOUTH IN
1620.

Those marked with ☞ are more particularly enlarged upon in the Lives
of the Adventurers.

- A.D. BIRON, a Norman, accidentally discovered a
1001. country which was afterward called *Winland*,
☞ and is supposed to be a part of the Island of
Newfoundland.*—*Crantz. Pontoppidan*.
1170. MADOC, prince of Wales, emigrated, and, it
☞ is thought, discovered a new country in the
West.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 1.
1358. An island called *Estotiland* was discovered by
☞ a fisherman of *Frisland*, as related by ZENO.—
Ibid., 124.
1492. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in the ser-
☞ vice of *Spain*, discovered *Guanahani*, and other
islands called *Bahamas* and *Antilles*.—*Ferd. Co-*
lumbus.
1493. COLUMBUS made a second voyage, and dis-
covered *Dominica*, and other islands called *Car-*
ibbees.—*Ibid.*
1497. JOHN CABOT, with his son SEBASTIAN,
in the service of HENRY VII. of *England*, dis-
covered the Island of *Newfoundland* and some
parts of a western *Continent*, as far northward

* See the Life of Biron, p. 80.

as lat. 45°, and as far southward as lat. 38°.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 4–11.

1498. COLUMBUS made a third voyage, and discovered the Western Continent, in lat 10° N.—*Ferd. Col.*

1499. OJEDA,* a private adventurer, and AMERIGO VESPUCCI,† followed the track of COLUMBUS, and discovered the Western Continent, of which Amerigo, after his return to Europe, wrote an account, and published it, from which the continent obtained the name of AMERICA.—*Robertson.*

1500. CABRAL,‡ in the service of Portugal, bound

* [Alonso de Ojeda, a man of singular bravery and prowess, who had early signalized himself in the Moorish wars. He had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. The merchants of Seville, by the influence of the Bishop of Badajos, who also procured for him the journal and charts of Columbus, put four ships under his command. He made a second, but unsuccessful, voyage in 1501. He had shown himself to be a man of courage and skill, and was afterward (1509?) appointed by Ferdinand governor of that part of the continent which extends from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien. This government, however, was soon broken up by the resolute resistance of the natives.—See Irving's *Life of Columbus*, vol. iii.—H.]

† [Vespucci was a gentleman of Florence, born March 9, 1451, a man of science, and an experienced navigator. He returned to Spain in June, 1500. His account of his voyage and discoveries was "drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance." The next year he made a voyage in the service of the King of Portugal, and touched on the coast of Brazil. Again, in 1503 he sailed for the East Indies, but returned in June, 1504, having gone no farther than Brazil. He afterward lived in Spain, in the capacity of chief pilot, where he died, Feb. 22, 1512.—Irving's *Columbus* ii., 246.—H.]

‡ [Pedro Alvarez Cabral. After the return of De Gama from his voyage to the East Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, the

to India, discovered by *accident* the Continent of America, in lat. 10° south, which was called *Brazil*.—*Robertson*.

1502. COLUMBUS made his fourth and last voyage to the new continent in quest of a passage through it to India.—*Ferd. Col.*

1512. JOHN PONCE,* in the service of *Spain*, discovered the new continent in the latitude of 30° N., and called it *Florida*.—*Herrera*.

1513. VASCO NUNEZ,† a Spaniard, travelled

King of Portugal fitted out a large fleet to prosecute these discoveries, and gave the command of it to Cabral. To avoid the variable winds and calms which he anticipated on the coast of Africa, he stood out to sea, and so far that he fell in with an unknown country, along which he sailed for several days. Concluding it to be a portion of the continent, he landed and took formal possession in the name of the king, and sent immediately a ship to Lisbon with an account of his unexpected discovery.—H.]

* [Juan Ponce de Leon, "an officer eminent for conduct no less than for courage." He had subdued the Island of Puerto Rico in 1509 and the following years. For the discovery of Florida he equipped three ships at his own expense, and found daring spirits enough who were eager to share the dangers and honours of his enterprise. The name Florida was given to the newly-found region because he reached it on Palm Sunday (*Pascua Florida*). He is said to have undertaken this voyage from a most romantic motive; to search for a fountain, which the Indians had reported of such marvellous virtue, that whoever bathed in it put off at once the infirmities of age, and was renewed in the vigour and beauty of youth; a tale which the simple native honestly told, and which the no less credulous Spaniards fully believed.—H.]

† [Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was of a noble family of Xeres, in Estremadura, and born in the year 1475. His first voyage to America was made in 1500, under Bastides. He resided some time at St. Domingo, where he became involved in debt; and to escape, secreted himself on board a ship bound for the continent. They reached Darien, where his energy gained him favour with

across the Isthmus of *Darien*, and from a mountain discovered on the other side of the continent an *ocean*, which, from the direction in which he saw it, took the name of the *South Sea*.—*Robertson*.

1519. HERNANDO CORTEZ,* in the service of *Spain*, entered the city of *Mexico*, and, in the space of two years, reduced the whole country under the dominion of the King of Spain.—*Ibid*.
1520. FERDINAND DE MAGELLANES,† a Portuguese in the service of Spain, passed through

the men, and he was put in command of the colony. From this point he made many expeditions, and first gained a sight of the South Sea. He was brought to trial by the jealousy of Pedrarias Davila, who had been appointed governor of that country, and beheaded by his orders in the year 1527.—H.]

* [Hernando Cortez was born at Medellin, in Spain, in the year 1485, and was educated at the University of Salamanca. He was of an adventurous disposition, and the prospect of riches and discovery in the New World was just suited to his ardent and restless mind. He sailed for America in 1504, and stayed many years in St. Domingo, where he was married. He started for Mexico Feb. 19, 1519. After the conquest of that country, he returned to Spain in 1523, and was appointed governor of a province in the land he had subdued. He returned again to Spain in 1540, and died there, Dec. 2, 1547. Cruel, perhaps, and unscrupulous, he was yet daring, sagacious, enthusiastic, heroic, and of a generous spirit.—H.]

† [Ferdinand de Magalhaens, or Magellan, was a gentleman of honourable birth, and had served with much distinction as a soldier in the East Indies. He proposed to Emanuel, then king of Portugal, to conduct a fleet by a westerly course to the Spice Islands. His scheme being rejected, he made the same offer to the court of Spain; and, having been furnished with five ships, sailed from Seville Aug. 10, 1519. He was slain April 20, 1520, a man of great energy, judgment, and resolution.—Robertson.—H.]

the strait which bears his name, and sailed across the South Sea, to which he gave the name of *Pacific*. He discovered the *Philippine* Islands, and was there killed in a skirmish with the natives. The ship, under the command of SEBASTIAN DEL CANO, returned to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus performed the first circumnavigation of the globe.—*Life of Magellanes*.

1524. JOHN DE VERAZZANI,* a Florentine in the service of FRANCIS I., king of France, discovered the new continent in lat. 34° N., sailed northward to lat. 41° , where he entered a harbour, which, by his description, must be that of New-York. Thence he sailed E. and N.E. as far as Newfoundland, and called the whole country *New France*.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 295–300.

† [Giovanni Verazzano was born of a distinguished family at Florence about the year 1475. He was early distinguished by a passion for adventure, travelled in Syria and Egypt, lived several years at Cairo, and navigated the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas. He was selected by Francis I. to conduct the first expedition fitted out by France for the purpose of maritime discovery. He sailed from a rock near the Island of Madeira, Jan. 17, 1524, with a single ship, the *Dolphin*, fifty men, and provisions for eight months, and explored the coast of America from Florida to Newfoundland, from 34° to 50° north, a space of 700 leagues, entered the Hudson River and Narraganset Bay, and returned to Dieppe early in July of the same year. A translation of the report he made to Francis is given in *Hakluyt*, as cited in the text; and a sketch of the same, with an estimate of the character of Verazzano, may be consulted in the *North American Review*, vol. xlv., p. 293–311, by G. W. Greene, U. S. consul at Rome. He is said to have made a second voyage of discovery, and, on landing, to have been taken prisoner by the natives, and devoured in sight of his comrades —H.]

1525. STEPHEN GOMEZ, in the service of *Spain*, sailed to *Florida*, and thence to *Cape Race*, in lat. 46° N., in search of a N.W. passage to India.—*Herrera*.
1526. FRANCIS PIZARRO* sailed from *Panama* to *Peru*, and began the conquest of that rich and populous country.—*Purchas*.
1528. PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ,† in the service of *Spain*, sailed from *Cuba* with 400 men to conquer *Florida*. His purpose was defeated by a tempest, in which he was wrecked on the coast.—*Herrera*. *Purchas*.
1534. JAMES CARTIER, in the service of *France*, discovered and named the *Bay de Chaleur* and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 201–212.
1535. CARTIER made a second voyage, discovered the great river of *Canada*, and sailed up as far as *Hochelaga*, which he named *Montreal*. He wintered in a little harbour near the west end of the Isle of *Orleans*, which he called *Port de*

* [Francisco Pizarro was a native of Truxillo, born about the year 1500. Already trained to fatigue and martial enterprise, he accompanied Balboa in his expedition across the Isthmus of Darien in 1509. He started from Panama on his expedition to Peru, Nov. 14, 1524, and was engaged in it three years. He then returned to Spain, and was appointed by the emperor governor and admiral of the region he had discovered. His progress there was marked with acts of extreme cruelty and rapine, but the conquest was completely successful. When his triumph seemed most entire, he was slain, June 26, 1531, by a conspiracy of some of his followers, who feared and hated him.—H.]

† [De Narvaez, an officer of some courage, and much haughtiness and self-confidence, had been sent by Velasquez to Mexico in April, 1520, to arrest and supersede Cortez, by whom he was attacked and made prisoner.—H.]

1536. *St. Croix*. The next summer he returned to France, carrying some of the natives.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 212–232.

1539. FERDINANDO DE SOTO* sailed from Cuba with 900 men to conquer *Florida*. He traversed the country in various directions for three
 1542. years, and died on the banks of the Mississippi.
 1543. The surviving part of his army returned to Cuba.—*Herrera*. *Purchas*.

1540. CARTIER made a third voyage to Canada, built a fort and began a settlement, which he
 1541 called *Charleburg*, four leagues above the Port de
 or *St. Croix*. He broke up the settlement and
 1542. sailed to Newfoundland.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 232–240.

ROBERVAL, with three ships and 200 persons, going to recruit the settlement in Canada, met Cartier at Newfoundland, and would have obliged him to return; but he gave him the slip and sailed for France. ROBERVAL proceeded up the River *St. Lawrence* four leagues above the Island of Orleans, where he found a convenient harbour and place for a fortification. Here he built a fort, and remained over the winter. The next year he returned to France with his colony.—*Ibid.*, 240–242.

During the succeeding thirty years the passion for *discovery* took another direction. Adventurers from Europe were seeking a passage to India and China by the N.E., but were prevented

* [See also *Hakluyt*, vol. v., ed. 1810, and “A Relation of the Invasion and Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards, under the command of Ferdinando de Soto, written in Portuguese by a gentleman of the town of Elvas, now Englished,” &c., London, 1686. Soto’s army consisted of 600 men.—See p. 258, note.—H.]

from accomplishing their views by the cold and ice of those inhospitable regions.—*Forster*.

In this interval, the French of Brittany, the Spaniards of Biscay, and the Portuguese, enjoyed the fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland without interruption.—*Purchas*.

1562. Under the patronage of CHATILLON, High-admiral of France, JOHN RIBALT* attempted a settlement in *Florida*. He entered a river in lat. 32° on the first of May, which from that circumstance he named the River *May*, and the entrance he called *Port Royal*. Here he built a fort, which, in honour of CHARLES IX. of France, he called *Fort Charles*. After his departure the people mutinied and returned to France.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 308–319, and *Purchas*.

1564. LAUDONIERE† renewed the settlement and called the country *Carolina*, after the reigning monarch of France. This colony was on good terms with the natives, but suffered by famine. They were relieved by SIR JOHN HAWKINS, an Englishman, who offered to carry them to France; but the hope of finding *silver* induced

* [John Ribault, as the name is commonly spelled, sailed with two ships, Feb. 18, 1562, reached Florida in March, and returned to Dieppe July 20th of the same year. Laudoniere commends him as “a man in truth expert in sea causes.” He came again to Florida, Aug. 28, 1565, with a commission to be governor there, and remained till he was killed by the Spaniards under Melendes.—H.]

† [Rene Laudoniere had accompanied Ribault in his first expedition, and was superseded by him in his second. Meanwhile, he sailed from France April 22, 1564, under the orders of De Chastillon. He reached Florida June 22d. After the destruction of their fort, Laudoniere returned through England to France.—H.]

them to stay, till RIBALT arrived with seven sail
 1565. of vessels.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 319–349.

PEDRO MELENDES, in the service of Spain, came with a superior force, killed Ribalt and most of his company, and took possession of the country, building three forts.—*Ibid.*, 352–356.

1568. GOURGUES,* from France, with the help of the natives, who hated the Spaniards, broke up the Spanish settlements in Florida, and returned to France, leaving the country desert.—*Ibid.*, 356–360.

1576. All attempts to find a N.E. passage to India being frustrated, MARTIN FROBISHER, in the service of ELIZABETH, queen of England, sailed in search of a N.W. passage.

1577. He made a second voyage.

1578. He made a third voyage.


These voyages were made to *Greenland*, and produced no material discovery. He sailed through a strait which still bears his name, but is now impassable by reason of fixed ice.—*Hakluyt* and *Crantz*.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE† being on a cruise

* [Dominique de Gourgues, “a gentleman and a well tried and valiant soldier,” undertook this expedition chiefly at his own expense, fitting out three vessels and more than two hundred men. They sailed, Aug. 22d, 1567, from France; and attacked the first fort of the Spaniards on Easter-day, in April, 1568. They returned to France in June of the same year. Gourgues died in 1582.—H.]


† [This famous navigator was born in the year 1545, of obscure parentage. He became a seaman when very young, and was made captain of a ship at the age of twenty-two. He was engaged in many important naval enterprises, particularly in the half-piratical expeditions against the Spaniards. In 1577–1580, with five ships and one hundred and sixty-four men, he sailed round the globe.—

against the Spaniards in the South Sea, landed on the Continent of *America*, northward of *California*, took possession of a harbour, and called the circumjacent country, between lat. 38° and 42° , *New Albion*.—*Hakluyt*.

1579. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT obtained of  QUEEN ELIZABETH a patent for all countries not possessed by any Christian prince.—*Purchas*.

1583. GILBERT sailed to *Newfoundland*; took formal possession of it and of the Continent of *North America* for the crown of England. In his return his ship foundered and he was lost.—*Ibid*.

SIR ADRIAN GILBERT obtained of QUEEN ELIZABETH a patent for the discovery of a N.W. passage, to remain in force five years.—*Hakluyt*, iii., 96.

1584. SIR WALTER RALEIGH obtained of QUEEN  ELIZABETH a patent for lands not possessed by any Christian prince, by virtue of which he sent PHILIP AMADAS and ARTHUR BARLOW to explore the country called by the Spaniards *Florida*.—*Ibid.*, 243-251.

1585. Under the authority of GILBERT's patent, JOHN DAVIS sailed from England in search of a N.W. passage.—*Ibid.*, 98-103.

1586. He made a second voyage.—*Ib.*, 103-111.

1587. He made a third voyage.—*Ib.*, 111-121.

DAVIS explored the western coast of Green-
Hakluyt, iii., 730-742. The next year the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and in 1588 he was appointed vice-admiral, under Lord Howard of Effingham. He died Jan. 28, 1596, having gained an unequalled reputation for nautical skill and personal courage.—*See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii., p. 37-55.—H.]

land and part of the opposite coast of the Continent of America ; the strait between them bears his name. He also discovered another strait, which he called *Cumberland*.—*Hakluyt*.

1585. SIR WALTER RALEIGH sent SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE to Florida. He landed a colony of 100 people at *Roanoak* and returned.—*Ibid.*, iii., 251–265.

1586. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, returning from his expedition against the Spaniards, took the colony on board and carried them to England.—*Ibid.*, 264.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE arrived after their departure and landed another smaller colony.—*Ibid.*, 265.

1587. SIR WALTER RALEIGH sent another company, under the command of JOHN WHITE, to colonize the country which QUEEN ELIZABETH called *Virginia*, in honour of her own virginity. The *second* colony were not to be found. One hundred and fifteen persons were landed to make a *third* colony, and the governor returned to England for supplies.—*Purchas*.

1590. GEORGE WHITE was sent to Virginia, but, finding none of the *third* colony living, returned to England.—*Ibid.*

1592. JUAN DE FUCA, a Greek, in the service of Spain, was sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to discover a N.W. passage, by exploring the western side of the American Continent. He discovered a strait, which bears his name, in the 48th degree of N. latitude, and supposed it to be the long-desired passage.—*Purchas*.

1593. HENRY MAY, an Englishman, returning

from the East Indies in a French ship, was wrecked on the Island of *Bermuda*, where he found *swine*, from which circumstance it appeared that some other vessel had been there before. The company built a boat of cedar, calked it, and payed the seams with lime mixed with turtles' fat, and sailed to Newfoundland, whence they got a passage to England.—*Hakluyt*.

1593. GEORGE WEYMOUTH sailed from England to discover a N.W. passage. He visited

1594. the coast of *Labrador*, and sailed 30 miles up an inlet in the latitude of 56° , but made no material discovery.—*Forster*.

1598. DE LA ROCHE obtained from HENRY IV. of France a commission to conquer *Canada*, and other countries not possessed by any Christian prince. He sailed from France with a colony of *convicts* from the prisons; landed 40 on the *Isle of Sable*. After seven years the survivors, being 12 in number, were taken off and carried home to France, where HENRY pardoned them, and gave them 50 crowns each as a recompense for their sufferings.—*Purchas. Forster*.

1600. Q. ELIZABETH established by charter a company of merchants in England, with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies.—*Tablet of Memory*.

1602. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, an Englishman, discovered a promontory on the American coast, in lat. 42° , to which he gave the name of *Cape Cod*. He landed on an island which he called *Elizabeth*, and built a small fort; but the same summer returned to England.—*Purchas*.

1603. DE MONTS obtained of HENRY IV. of France

¶ a patent for the planting of *L'Acadia* and Canada, from lat. 40° to 46° .—*Purchas*.

¶ SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN sailed up the great river of Canada, and returned to France the same year.—*Ibid*.

1603. DE MONTS sailed from France, taking CHAMPLAIN and CHAMPDORE for pilots, and POUTRINCOURT who intended a settlement in America. They discovered and began plantations at *Port Royal*, *St. John's*, and *St. Croix*, in the Bay of *Fundy*.

1610. POUTRINCOURT introduced two Jesuits into Port Royal; but some controversy arising, the Jesuits went to *Mount Desert* and began a plantation there.—*Ibid*.

1605. GEORGE WEYMOUTH sailed on a second voyage to discover a N.W. passage; but falling short, made the land in $41^{\circ} 30'$; thence sailed to $43^{\circ} 20'$, and discovered a great river, supposed to be either *Kennebec* or *Penobscot*; took on board five of the natives, and returned to England. He put in at Plymouth, and delivered three of them to SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, then governor of Plymouth.—*Gorges*.

1606. JAMES I., king of England, by patent divided *Virginia* into two districts, called North and South Virginia. The southern part, situate between 34° and 41° , he granted to a London company; the northern part, situate between 38° and 45° , he granted to a Plymouth company. Neither of them were to plant within 100 miles of the other.—*Purchas*.

1607. CHAMPLAIN, by order of DE MONTS, sailed up the river of Canada and fortified *Quebec*, the name of a strait in the river.—*Ibid*.

HENRY HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, sailed in quest of a N.W. passage. He attempted to pass to the E. of Greenland, and discovered *Spitzbergen*. He sailed as far N. as 82°, but, finding the sea obstructed by ice, returned.—*Forster*.

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT sailed to Virginia, and began a colony at *Jamestown*. EDWARD WINGFIELD was president, but JOHN SMITH was the life and soul of the colony.—*Smith. Purchas.*

GEORGE POPHAM* sailed to North Virginia, and began a plantation at *Sagadahock*, of which he was president. In the winter, the ships returned to England, leaving 45 persons
1608. behind. Their president dying, the next spring they broke up the plantation and went back to England. This winter was remarkably severe both in America and England.—*Purchas.*

1608. HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, undertook a second voyage of discovery, and attempted to pass on both sides of *Nova Zembla*; but the ice being impenetrable, he returned.—*Ibid.*

NELSON re-enforced the colony of South Virginia with 120 people.—*Ibid.*

1609. CHAMPLAIN returned to France, leaving Captain PIERRE to command at Quebec.—*Ibid.*

HUDSON, in the service of the Dutch, made a third voyage, and discovered *the river* which bears his name in lat. 41°.

✂ SIR GEORGE SOMERS, bound to South Vir

* See the Life of F. Gorges.

ginia, was wrecked on *Bermuda*, whence those islands took the name *Somer Islands*.—*Smith. Purchas.*

1610. CHAMPLAIN revisited *Quebec* and took the command there.—*Purchas.*

HUDSON, in the service of the English East India Company, discovered the strait and bay which bear his name, and passed the winter there, intending to pursue his discoveries in the ensuing spring; but his crew mutinied, and turned him adrift in his boat, with seven others, who were never more heard of.—*Purchas. Campbell.*

1610. SIR GEORGE SOMERS, having built a pin-nace at *Bermuda*, sailed to South Virginia; the colony determined to return to England; but, in sailing down James's River, met Lord DELAWARE with a re-enforcement, by which they were encouraged to return and resume the plantation.—*Purchas.*

JOHN GUY, with a company of forty persons, began a colony at the Bay of *Conception*, in Newfoundland.—*Ibid.*

1611. SIR THOMAS DALE re-enforced the colony of South Virginia with 300 people, and Sir THOMAS GATES with 300 more, furnishing them with cattle and swine, and thus that colony was established.—*Ibid.*

1612. The colony at Newfoundland was augmented to sixty persons, but was for many years in a very precarious state. Mr. Guy returned to England, and was afterward Mayor of Bristol.—*Purchas. Oldmixon.*

The South Virginia Company having sold the islands of *Bermuda* to a part of their own num-

ber, they obtained a distinct charter, and sent a colony of ninety persons thither : their first governor was RICHARD MOOR.—*Purchas.*

1613. The colony at Bermuda was enlarged by the addition of 400 persons.—*Ibid.*

SIR THOMAS DALE, governor of Virginia, hearing that the French had settled within the limits of the northern patent, sent Sir SAMUEL ARGALL with a sufficient force to dislodge them, which he did from Mount Mansel (Desert), St. Croix, and Port Royal, in the Bay of Fundy. These Frenchmen retired to Quebec and strengthened the settlement there.—*Smith. Purchas. Keith.*

1614. CAPT. JOHN SMITH, having quitted the colony of South Virginia, sailed for North Virginia on a fishing and whaling voyage ; he ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and made a map of the country, which he first called *New-England*.—*Smith.*

1615. ROBERT BYLOT and WILLIAM BAFFIN sailed from England in search of a N.W. passage.

1616. They made another voyage, and discovered the great northern bay which bears BAFFIN'S name.—*Purchas. Forster.*

1617. During this and the two preceding years, war, famine, and pestilence raged among the natives of New-England, by which great numbers were swept off, and the fur trade between them and the Europeans was interrupted.—*Gorges.*

1619. THOMAS DERMER* sailed to New-England ; found many places, before populous, al-

* See the Life of F. Gorges.

most desolate, and the few remaining inhabitants either sick or but scarcely recovered. In this voyage he sailed through the whole passage between the mainland and Long Island, and first determined its *insular* situation.—*Gorges*.

1620. A company of ENGLISH PURITANS,* who
II had resided twelve years in Holland, began a colony in New-England, which they called *New-Plymouth*.—*Morton*.

III KING JAMES I.† established at *Plymouth*, in Devonshire, a council for the planting, ruling, and ordering of New-England; and thus the business of colonization was formed into a system.

* See Life of W. Bradford.

† See Life of F. Gorges.

**THE SUCCESSION OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE EUROPEAN
NATIONS WHO HAVE HAD POSSESSIONS OR CONNEX-
IONS IN AMERICA.**

ENGLAND.

A.D.
1485. Henry VII.
1509. Henry VIII.
1547. Edward VI.
1553. Mary.
1558. Elizabeth.
1603. James I.
1625. Charles I.
1648. Commonwealth.
1653. O. Cromwell.
1658. R. Cromwell.
1660. Charles II.
1685. James II.
1688. William and Mary.
1694. William III.
1701. Anne.
1714. George I.
1727. George II.
1760. George III.

FRANCE.

1483. Charles VIII.
1498. Louis XII.
1515. Francis I.
1547. Henry II.
1559. Francis II.
1560. Charles IX.
1574. Henry II.
1589. Henry IV.
1610. Louis XIII.
1643. Louis XIV.
1715. Louis XV.
1773. Louis XVI.

A.D.
1792. Republic.

SPAIN.

1474. Ferdinand V. and Isabella.
1504. Philip I.
1516. Charles } I. King.
 } V. Emp.
1556. Philip II.
1598. Philip III.
1621. Philip IV.
1665. Charles II.
1700. Philip V.
1746. Ferdinand VI.
1759. Charles III.
1789. Charles IV.

PORTUGAL.

1481. John II.
1495. Emanuel.
1521. John III.
1557. Sebastian.
1578. Henry.
1580. Philip II. } of Spain
1598. Philip III. } and Por-
1621. Philip IV. } tugal.
1640. John IV.
1656. Alphonso VI.
1667. Peter.
1704. John V.
1750. Joseph.
1777. Maria Frances Isabella.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

I. BIRON.

THE ancient inhabitants of Norway and Denmark, collectively taken, were distinguished by the name of NORMANS. Their situation near the coast of the sea, and the advantages which that element presented to them beyond all which they could expect from a rough soil in a cold climate, led them at an early period to the science and practice of navigation. They built their vessels with the best of oak, and constructed them in such a manner as to encounter the storms and billows of the Northern Ocean. They covered them with decks, and furnished them with high forecastles and sterns. They made use of sails as well as oars, and had learned to trim their sails to the wind in almost any direction. In these arts of building ships and of navigation they were superior to the people bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, who

depended chiefly on their oars, and used sails only with a fair wind.

About the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the Normans made themselves famous by their predatory excursions. England, Scotland, Ireland, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, were objects of their depredations; and in one of their piratical expeditions (A.D. 861) they discovered an island, which, from its lofty mountains covered with ice and snow, obtained the name of *Iceland*. In a few years after they planted a colony there, which was continually augmented by migrations from the neighbouring countries. Within the space of thirty years (889) a new country, situate on the west, was discovered, and, from its verdure during the summer months, received the name of *Greenland*. This was deemed so important an acquisition, that, under the conduct of ERIC RAUDE, or REDHEAD, a Danish chief, it was soon peopled.

The emigrants to these new regions were still inflamed with the passion for adventure and discovery. An Icelfander of the name HERIOLF and his son BIRON* made a voyage

* His name is spelled by different authors BIRON, BIORN, BIOERN, and BIAERN.

every year to different countries for the sake of traffic. About the beginning of the eleventh century (1001) their ships were separated by a storm. When Biron arrived in Norway, he heard that his father was gone to Greenland, and he resolved to follow him, but another storm drove him to the *southwest*, where he discovered a flat country, free from rocks, but covered with thick woods, and an island near the coast.

He made no longer stay at either of these places than till the storm abated, when by a northeast course he hasted to Greenland. The discovery was no sooner known there, than LEIF, the son of Eric, who, like his father, had a strong desire to acquire glory by adventures, equipped a vessel carrying twenty-five men, and, taking Biron for his pilot, sailed (1002) in search of the new country.

His course was southwest. On the first land which he saw he found nothing but flat rocks and ice, without any verdure. He therefore gave it the name of *Helleland*, which signifies rocky. Afterward he came to a level shore, without any rocks, but overgrown with woods, and the sand was remarkably white. This he named *Markland*, or woody. Two days after he saw land again, and an

island lying before the northern coast of it. Here he first landed; and thence sailing westward round a point of land, found a creek or river, into which the ship entered.

On the banks of this river were bushes bearing sweet berries; the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish, among which were very fine salmon. At the head of this river was a lake, on the shore of which they resolved to pass the winter, and erected huts for their accommodation. One of their company, a German named Tyrker, having straggled into the woods, found *grapes*, from which he told them that in his country they made *wine*. From this circumstance Leif, the commander of the party, called the place *Winland dat gode*, the good wine country.

An intercourse being thus opened between Greenland and Winland, several voyages were made, and the new country was farther explored. Many islands were found near the coast, but not a human creature was seen till the third summer (1004), when three boats, constructed with ribs of bone, fastened with thongs or twigs, and covered with skins, each boat containing three men, made their appearance. From the diminutive size of these

people the Normans denominated them *Skrælings*,* and inhumanly killed them all but one, who escaped, and collected a larger number of his countrymen to make an attack on their invaders. The Normans defended their ships with so much spirit that the assailants were obliged to retire.

After this, a colony of Normans went and settled at Winland, carrying on a barter trade with the *Skrælings* for furs; but a controversy arose in the colony, which induced some to return to Greenland. The others dispersed and mixed with the *Skrælings*.

In the next century (1121) Eric, bishop of Greenland, went to Winland, with a benevolent design to recover and convert his countrymen, who had degenerated into savages. This prelate never returned to Greenland, nor was anything more heard of Winland for several centuries.

This account of the discovery of Winland is taken from Pontoppidan's history of Norway, Crantz's history of Greenland, and a late history of northern voyages by Dr. John Reinhold Forster. The facts are said to have been collected from "a great number of Icelandic manuscripts by Thormond Thor-

* Cut sticks, chips—Dwarfs,

fœus, Adam von Bremen, Arngrini Jonas, and many other writers, so that it is hardly possible to entertain the least doubt concerning the authenticity of the relation."

Pontoppidan says that "they could see the sun full six hours in the shortest day;" but Crantz tells us that "the sun rose on the shortest day at eight of the clock," and Forster that "the sun was eight hours above the horizon," from which he concludes that Winland must be found in the 49th degree of northern latitude; and, from its being in a southwesterly direction from Greenland, he supposes that it is either a part of Newfoundland, or some place on the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but whether grapes are found in either of those countries he cannot say. However, he seems so fully persuaded of the facts, that he gives it as his opinion that the Normans were, strictly speaking, the first discoverers of America, nearly five centuries before Columbus.

From a careful perusal of the first accounts of Newfoundland, preserved by those painful collectors Hakluyt and Purchas, and of other memoirs respecting that island and the coast of Labrador, and from inspecting the most approved maps of those regions, particularly

one in the American Atlas, delineated agreeably to the actual surveys of the late celebrated navigator Captain James Cook, the following observations occur.

On the N.E. part of Newfoundland, which is most directly accessible from Greenland, there is a long range of coast, in which are two bays, the one called Gander Bay, and the other the Bay of Exploits. Before the mouth of the former, among many smaller, there lies one large island called Fogo; and before the mouth of the latter, another called The New World. Either of these will sufficiently answer to the situation described in the account of Biron's second voyage. Into each of these bays runs a river, which has its head in a lake, and both these lakes lie in the 49th degree of north latitude.

The earliest accounts of Newfoundland after its discovery and the establishment of a fishery on its coasts, have respect chiefly to the lands about Trinity and Conception Bays, between the parallels of 48° and 49° . These lands are represented as producing strawberries, whortleberries, raspberries, gooseberries, pears, wild cherries, and hazel-nuts, in very great plenty. The rivers are said to have been well stored with salmon and trout.

The natives, who inhabited a bay lying to the northward of Trinity, and came occasionally thither in their canoes, are described as broad-breasted and upright, with black eyes, and without beards; the hair on their heads was of different colours; some had *black*, some *brown*, and others *yellow*. In this variety they differed from the other savages of North America, who have uniformly black hair, unless it be grown gray with age.

The climate is represented as more mild in the winter than that of England; but much colder in the spring, by reason of the vast islands of ice which are driven into the bays or grounded on the banks.

On the northeastern coast of Labrador, between the latitudes of 53° and 56° , are many excellent harbours and islands. The seas are full of cod, the rivers abound with salmon, and the climate is said to be more mild than in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Nothing is said in any of these accounts of vines or grapes, excepting that some which were brought from England had thriven well. If any evidence can be drawn from a comparison between the countries of Newfoundland and New-England, it may be observed, that all the above-mentioned fruits

and berries are found in the northern and eastern parts of New-England as far as Nova Scotia, in the latitudes of 44° and 45° , and that grapes (*vitis vulpina*, *vitis labrusca*) are known to grow wherever these fruits are found.

De Monts, in his voyage to Acadia in 1608, speaks of grapes in several places; and they were in such plenty on the Isle of Orleans, in lat. 47° , that it was first called the Island of Bacchus.* Though there is no direct and positive testimony of grapes in the Island of Newfoundland, it is by no means to be concluded that there were none. Nor is it improbable that grapes, though once found there, might have been so scarce as not to merit notice in such general descriptions as were given by the first English adventurers.

The distance between Greenland and Newfoundland is not greater than between Iceland and Norway, and there could be no more difficulty in navigating the western than the eastern parts of the northwestern ocean with such vessels as were then in use, and by such seamen as the Normans are said to have

* It is also said that Mr. Ellis met with the vine about the English settlements at Hudson's Bay, and compares the fruit of it to the currants of the Levant.—*Morse's Un. Geo.*, vol. i., p. 64.

been, though they knew nothing of the magnetic needle.

Upon the whole, though we can come to no positive conclusion in a question of such remote antiquity, yet there are many circumstances to confirm, and none to disprove, the relation given of the voyages of Biron.* But if it be allowed that he is entitled to the honour of having discovered America before Columbus, yet this discovery cannot in the least detract from the merit of that celebrated navigator. For there is no reason to suppose that Columbus had any knowledge of the Norman discoveries, which long before his time were forgotten, and would, perhaps, never have been recollected, if he had not, by the astonishing exertions of his genius and his persevering industry, effected a discovery of this continent in a climate more friendly to the views of commercial adventurers.

Even Greenland itself, in the fifteenth century, was known to the Danes and Normans only by the name of *lost* Greenland, and they did not recover their knowledge of it till af-

* At my request, Governor WENTWORTH, of Nova Scotia, has employed a proper person to make inquiry into any vestiges of this ancient colony which *may* yet be subsisting. I am sorry that the result could not be had before the publication of this volume, but when it comes to hand it shall be communicated.

ter the English had ascertained its existence by their voyages to discover a N.W. passage to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch had coasted it in pursuit of whales.

[The recent publications of the Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen have thrown new light upon the adventures and discoveries of Biron and those who followed him. It has been thought advisable, instead of illustrating the text by notes, to give entire the life of Biron by Belknap, which deserves to be perpetuated for its ingenious statements and conjectures, and to add the abstract of information and evidence on the subject which is contained in the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," and which will give a complete and connected view of all the knowledge we have relating to it.—H.]

AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE CONTAINED IN THE "*ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ*," BY C. C. RAFN, SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES.

BIARNE HERIULFSON'S VOYAGE IN THE YEAR 986.

ERIC THE RED, in the spring of 986, emigrated from Iceland to Greenland, formed a settlement there, and fixed his residence at

Brattalid in Ericsfiord. Among others who accompanied him was Heriulf Bardson, who established himself at Heriulfsnes. BIARNE, the son of the latter, was at that time absent on a trading voyage to Norway; but in the course of the summer returning to Eyrar, in Iceland, and finding that his father had taken his departure, this bold navigator resolved "still to spend the following winter, like all the preceding ones, with his father," although neither he nor any of his people had ever navigated the Greenland Sea. They set sail, but met with northerly winds and fogs, and, after many days' sailing, knew not whither they had been carried. At length, when the weather again cleared up, they saw a land which was without mountains, overgrown with wood, and having many gentle elevations. As this land did not correspond to the descriptions of Greenland, they left it on the larboard hand, and continued sailing two days, when they saw another land which was flat and overgrown with wood. From thence they stood out to sea, and sailed three days with a S.W. wind, when they saw a third land which was high and mountainous, and covered with icebergs (*glaciers*); they did not go on shore, as Biarne did not find the

country to be inviting. Bearing away from this island, they stood out to sea with the same wind, and after four days' sailing with fresh gales, they reached Heriulfsnes, in Greenland.

DISCOVERIES OF LEIF ERICSON, AND FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VINELAND.

Some time after this, probably in the year 994, Biarne paid a visit to Eric, earl of Norway, and told him of his voyage, and of the unknown lands he had discovered. He was blamed by many for not having examined these countries more accurately. On his return to Greenland there was much talk about undertaking a voyage of discovery. LEIF, a son of Eric the Red, bought Biarne's ship, and equipped it with a crew of thirty-five men, among whom was a German of the name of TYRKER, who had long resided with his father, and who had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. In the year 1000 they commenced the projected voyage, and came first to the land which Biarne had seen last. They cast anchor and went on shore. No grass was seen; but everywhere in this country were vast ice-mountains (*glaciers*), and the intermediate space between these and the shore was, as it were, one uniform

plain of slate (*hella*) : the country appearing to them destitute of good qualities, they called it HELLU-LAND. They put out to sea, and came to another land, where they also went on shore. The country was level (*slétt*) and covered with woods, and wheresoever they went there were cliffs of white sand (*sand-ar-hvítir*), and a low coast (*ó-sæbratt*) ; they called the country MARK-LAND (*Woodland*). From thence they again stood out to sea with a N.E. wind, and continued sailing for two days, before they made land again. They then came to an island which lay to the eastward of the mainland, and entered a channel between this island and a promontory projecting in an easterly (and northerly) direction from the mainland. They sailed westward in waters where there was much ground left dry at ebb-tide. Afterward they went on shore at a place where a river, issuing from a lake, fell into the sea. They brought their ship into the river, and from thence into the lake, where they cast anchor. Here they constructed some temporary log-huts ; but afterward, when they had made up their mind to winter there, they built large houses, afterward called LEIFS-BÚÐIR (*Leifsbooths*). When the buildings were

completed, Leif divided his people into two companies, who were by turns employed in keeping watch at the houses, and in making small excursions for the purpose of exploring the country in the vicinity : his instructions to them were, that they should not go to a greater distance than that they might return in the course of the same evening, and that they should not separate from one another. Leif took his turn also, joining the exploring party the one day, and remaining at the houses the other. It so happened that one day the German Tyrker was missing. Leif accordingly went out with twelve men in search of him, but they had not gone far from their houses when they met him coming towards them. When Lief inquired why he had been so long absent, he at first answered in German, but they did not understand what he said. He then said to them in the Norse tongue, "I did not go much farther, yet I have a discovery to acquaint you with : I have found vines and grapes." He added, by way of confirmation, that he had been born in a country where there was plenty of vines. They had now two occupations, viz., to hew timber for loading the ship, and collect grapes ; with these last they filled the

I.—H

ship's long boat. Leif gave a name to the country, and called it VINLAND (*Vineland*). In the spring they sailed again from thence, and returned to Greenland.

THORWALD ERICSON'S EXPEDITION TO MORE
SOUTHERN REGIONS.

Leif's Vineland voyage was now a subject of frequent conversation in Greenland, and his brother THORWALD was of opinion that the country had not been sufficiently explored. He accordingly borrowed Leif's ship, and, aided by his brother's counsel and directions, commenced a voyage in the year 1002. He arrived at Leifsbooths, in Vineland, where they spent the winter, he and his crew employing themselves in fishing. In the spring of 1003 Thorwald sent a party in the ship's long boat on a voyage of discovery southward. They found the country beautiful and well wooded, with but little space between the woods and the sea; there were likewise extensive ranges of white sand, and many islands and shallows. They found no traces of men having been there before them, excepting on an island lying to the westward, where they found a wooden shed. They did not return to Leifsbooths until the fall. In

the following summer, 1004, Thorwald sailed eastward with the large ship, and then northward past a remarkable headland enclosing a bay, and which was opposite to another headland. They called it KIAL-AR-NES (*Keel Cape*). From thence they sailed along to the eastern coast of the land, into the nearest friths, to a promontory which there projected, and which was everywhere overgrown with wood. There Thorwald went ashore with all his companions. He was so pleased with this place that he exclaimed, "This is beautiful! and here I should like well to fix my dwelling!" Afterward, when they were preparing to go on board, they observed on the sandy beach within the promontory three hillocks, and repairing thither, they found three canoes, under each of which were three Skrellings (Esquimaux); they came to blows with the latter, and killed eight, but the ninth escaped with his canoe. Afterward a countless number issued forth against them from the interior of the bay. They endeavoured to protect themselves by raising battle-screens on the ship's side. The Skrellings continued shooting at them for a while, and then retired. Thorwald was wounded by an arrow under the arm, and, finding that the wound was

mortal, he said, "I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible, but me ye shall bring to the promontory where I thought it good to dwell; it may be that it was a prophetic word that fell from my mouth about my abiding there for a season; there shall ye bury me, and plant a cross at my head and another at my feet, and call the place KROSS-A-NES (*Crossness*) in all time coming." He died, and they did as he had ordered. Afterward they returned to their companions at Leifsbooths, and spent the winter there; but in the spring of 1005 they sailed again to Greenland, having important intelligence to communicate to Leif.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF THORSTEIN ERICSON.

Thorstein, Eric's third son, had resolved to proceed to Vineland to fetch his brother's body. He fitted out the same ship, and selected twenty-five strong and able-bodied men for his crew: his wife Gudrida also went along with him. They were tossed about the ocean the whole summer, and knew not whither they were driven; but at the close of the first week of winter they landed at Lysufiord, in the western settlement of Greenland. There Thorstein died during the winter; and in

the spring Gudrida returned again to Ericsfiord.

SETTLEMENT EFFECTED IN VINELAND BY THORFINN.

In the following summer, 1006, there arrived in Greenland two ships from Iceland; the one was commanded by THORFINN, having the very significant surname of KARLSEFNE (i. e., one who promises or is destined to be an able or great man), a wealthy and powerful man, of illustrious lineage, and sprung from Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were kings or of royal descent. He was accompanied by SNORRE THORBRANDSON, who was also a man of distinguished lineage. The other ship was commanded by BIARNE GRIMOLFSON, of Breidefiord, and THORHALL GAMLASON, of Austfiord. They kept the festival of Yule, or Christmas, at Brattalid. Thorfinn became enamoured of Gudrida, and obtained the consent of her brother-in-law, Leif; and their marriage was celebrated in the course of the winter. On this, as on former occasions, the voyage to Vineland formed a favourite theme of conversation, and Thorfinn was urged both by his wife and others to undertake such a

voyage. It was accordingly resolved on. In the spring of 1007 Karlsefne and Snorre fitted out their ship, and Biarne and Thorhall likewise equipped theirs. A third ship (being that in which Gudrida's father, Thorbiörn, had formerly come to Greenland) was commanded by THORWARD, who was married to FREYDISA, a natural daughter of ERIC the Red; and on board the ship was also a man of the name of THORHALL, who had long served Eric as huntsman in summer and as house-steward in winter, and who had much acquaintance with the uncolonized parts of Greenland. The whole expedition consisted of one hundred and sixty men; and they took with them all kinds of live-stock, it being their intention to establish a colony, if possible. They sailed first to the Westerbýgd, and afterward to Biarney (*Disco*). From thence they sailed in a southerly direction to HELLU-LAND, where they found many foxes; and again two days in a southerly direction to MARK-LAND, a country overgrown with wood, and plentifully stocked with animals. Leaving this, they continued in a S.W. direction for a long time, having the land to starboard, until they at length came to KIAL-AR-NES, where there

were trackless deserts and long beaches and sands, called by them FURDU-STRAND-IR. Passing these, they found the land indented by inlets. They had two Scots with them, TAKE and TEKIA, whom Leif had formerly received from the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, and who were very swift of foot. They put them on shore, recommending them to proceed in a S.W. direction, and explore the country. After the lapse of three days they returned, bringing with them some grapes and some ears of wheat, which grew wild in that region. They continued their course until they came to a place where a frith penetrated far into the country. Off the mouth of it was an island, past which there ran strong currents, which was also the case farther up the frith. On the island there were an immense number of eider-ducks, so that it was scarcely possible to walk without treading on their eggs. They called the island STRAUM-EY (*Stream Isle*), and the frith SRRAUM-FIORDR (*Stream Frith*). They landed on the shore of this frith, and made preparations for their winter residence. The country was extremely beautiful. They confined their operations to exploring the country. Thorhall afterward wished to proceed in a N.

direction in quest of Vineland. Karlsefne chose rather to go to the S.W. Thorhall, and eight men with him, quitted them, and sailed past Furoustrander and Kíalarnes; but they were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, where, according to the accounts of some traders, they were beaten and made slaves. Karlsefne, together with Snorre and Biarne, and the rest of the ships' companies, in all 131 (CXXXI) men, sailed southward, and arrived at the place where a river falls into the sea from a lake. Opposite to the mouth of the river were large islands. They steered into the lake, and called the place HOP (í *Hópe*). On the low grounds they found fields of wheat growing wild, and on the rising ground vines. While looking about one morning, they observed a great number of canoes. As they exhibited friendly signals, the canoes approached nearer to them, and the natives looked with astonishment at those they met there. These people were sallow and ill-looking: had ugly heads of hair, and broad cheeks. After they had gazed at them for a while, they rowed away again to the S.W. past the cape. Karlsefne and his company had erected their dwelling houses a little above the bay, and there they

spent the winter. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open field. One morning early, in the beginning of 1008, they descried a number of canoes coming from the S.W. past the cape. Karlsefne having held up a white shield as a friendly signal, they drew nigh, and immediately commenced bartering. These people chose in preference red cloth, and gave furs and squirrel skins in exchange. They would fain also have bought swords and spears, but these Karlsefne and Snorre prohibited their people from selling. In exchange for a skin entirely gray, the Skrellings took a piece of cloth of a span in breadth, and bound it round their heads. Their barter was carried on in this way for some time. The Northmen found that their cloth was beginning to grow scarce, whereupon they cut it up in smaller pieces, not broader than a finger's breadth; yet the Skrellings gave as much for these smaller pieces as they had formerly given for the larger ones, or even more. Karlsefne also caused the women to make and pour out milk soup, and the Skrellings relishing the taste of it, they desired to buy it in preference to everything else; so they wound up their traffic by carrying away their bargains

in their stomachs. While this trade was going on, it happened that a bull which Karlsefne had brought along with him came out of the wood and bellowed loudly. At this the Skrellings became terrified, rushed to their canoes, and rowed away southward. About this time Gudrida, Karlsefne's wife, gave birth to a son, who received the name of SNORRE. In the beginning of the following winter the Skrellings came again in much greater numbers; they showed symptoms of hostility, setting up loud yells. Karlsefne caused the red shield to be borne against them, whereupon they advanced against each other, and a battle commenced. There was a galling discharge of missiles. The Skrellings had a sort of war-slings; they elevated on a pole a tremendously large ball, almost the size of a sheep's stomach, and of a bluish colour; this they swung from the pole upon land over Karlsefne's people, and it descended with a fearful crash. This struck terror into the Northmen, and they fled along the river. Freydisa came out, and, seeing them flying, she exclaimed, "How can stout men like you fly from these miserable caitiffs, whom I thought you could knock down like cattle! If I had only a weapon, I ween I could fight

better than any of you!" They heeded not her words. She tried to keep pace with them, but the advanced state of her pregnancy retarded her: she, however, followed them into the wood. There she encountered a dead body: it was THORBRAND SNORRASON; a flat stone was sticking fast in his head, and his naked sword lay by his side; this she took up, and prepared to defend herself. She uncovered her bosom, and struck it with the naked sword. At this sight the Skrellings became terrified, and ran off to their canoes. Karlsefne and the rest now came up to her, and praised her courage. They were now become aware that, though the country held out many advantages, still the life that they would have to lead here would be one of constant alarm, from the hostile attacks of the natives. They therefore made preparations for departure, with the resolution of returning to their own country. Sailing eastward, they arrived in Streamfirth. Karlsefne then took one of the ships, and sailed in quest of Thorhall, while the rest remained behind. They proceeded northward round Kialarnes, and after that were carried to the northwest. The land lay to the larboard of them; there were thick forests in all directions, as far as

they could see, with scarcely any open space. They considered the hills at Hope and those which they now saw as forming part of one continued range. They spent the third winter at Streanfirth. Karlsefne's son, Snorre, was now three years of age. When they sailed from Vineland they had southerly wind, and came to Markland, where they met with five Skrellings. They caught two of them (two boys), whom they carried away with them, and taught them the Norse language, and baptized them. These children said that their mother was called VETHILLDI, and their father UVÆGE; they said that the Skrellings were ruled by chieftains (kings), one of whom was called AVALLDAMON, and the other VALDIDIDA; that there were no houses in the country, but that the people dwelt in holes and caverns. Biarne Grimolfson was driven into the Irish Ocean, and came into waters that were so infested with worms that the ship was in consequence reduced to a sinking state. Some of the crew, however, were saved in the boat, as it had been smeared with seal-oil tar, which is a preventive against the attack of worms. Karlsefne continued his voyage to Greenland, and arrived at Ericsfiord.

VOYAGE OF FREYDISA, HELGE AND FINNBOGE ;
THORFINN SETTLES IN ICELAND.

During the same summer, 1011, there arrived in Greenland a ship from Norway, commanded by two brothers from Austfiord in Iceland, HELGE and FINNBOGE, who passed the following winter in Greenland. FREYDISA went to them, and proposed a voyage to Vineland, on the condition that they should share equally with her in all the profits which the voyage might yield : to this they assented. Freydisa and these brothers entered into a mutual agreement that each party should have thirty able-bodied men on board their ship besides women ; but Freydisa immediately deviated from the agreement, and took with her five additional men, whom she concealed. In 1012 they arrived at Leifsbóths, where they spent the following winter. The conduct of Freydisa occasioned a coolness and distance between the parties ; and by her subtle arts she ultimately prevailed on her husband to massacre the brothers and their followers. After the perpetration of this base deed, they, in the spring of 1013, returned to Greenland, where Thorfinn lay ready to sail for Norway, and was waiting for

a fair wind : the ship he commanded was so richly laden, that it was generally admitted that a more valuable cargo had never left Greenland. As soon as the wind became favourable he sailed to Norway, where he spent the following winter and sold his goods. Next year, when he was ready to sail for Iceland, there came a German from Bremen who wanted to buy a piece of wood from him : he gave for it half a marc of gold : it was the wood of the Mazer-tree, from Vineland. Karlsefne went to Iceland, and in the following year, 1015, he bought the Glaumbœ estate, in Skagefiord, in the northland quarter, where he resided during the remainder of his life : his son Snorre, who had been born in America, was his successor on this estate. When the latter married, his mother made a pilgrimage to Rome, and afterward returned to her son's house at Glaumbœ, where he had in the mean time ordered a church to be built. The mother lived long as a religious recluse. A numerous and illustrious race descended from Karlsefne, among whom may be mentioned the learned bishop Thorlak Runolfson, born in 1085, of Snorre's daughter Halfrida, to whom we are principally indebted for the oldest ecclesiastical

Code of Iceland, published in the year 1123; it is also probable that the accounts of the voyages here mentioned were originally compiled by him.

A SURVEY OF THE PRECEDING EVIDENCE.

I. *Geography and Hydrography.*

It is a fortunate circumstance that these ancient accounts have preserved not only *geographical*, but also *nautical* and *astronomical facts*, that may serve in fixing the position of the lands and places named. The *nautical facts* are of special importance, although hitherto they have not been sufficiently attended to; these consist in statements of the course steered and the distance sailed in a day. From data in the Landnama and several other ancient Icelandic geographical works, we may gather that the distance of a day's sailing was estimated at 27 to 30 geographical miles (German or Danish, of which fifteen are equal to a degree; each of these being, accordingly, equal to four English sea-miles). From the Island of HEL-LU-LAND, afterward called little Helluland, Biarne sailed to Heriulfsnes (*Iki-geit*) in Greenland, with strong southwesterly gales, in four days. The distance between that

cape and *Newfoundland* is about one hundred and fifty miles, which will correspond when we take into consideration the strong gales. In modern descriptions it is stated that this land partly consists of naked rocky flats, where no tree, nor even a shrub, can grow, and which are therefore usually called *Barrens*; thus answering completely to the *hellur* of the ancient Northmen, from which they named the country.

MARKLAND was situate to the southwest of Helluland, distant about three days' sail, or from eighty to ninety miles. Here then we have *Nova Scotia*, of which the descriptions given by later writers answer to that given by the ancient Northmen of Markland: "the land is low in general;" "the coast to the seaward being level and low, and the shores marked with white rocks;" "the land is low, with white sandy cliffs, particularly visible at sea," says the new "North American Pilot," by J. W. Norie and another American sailor: "on the shore are some cliffs of exceedingly white sand." Here "*level*" corresponds completely to the Icelandic "*slött*," "*low to the seaward*" to the short expression "*ó-sæ-bratt*," and "*white sandy cliffs*" to the "*hvít-ir sand-ar*" of the

Northmen. Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, and Lower Canada, situate more inland, which probably may be considered as all belonging to the Markland of the Northmen, are almost everywhere covered with immense forests.

VINLAND was situate at the distance of two days' sail, consequently from fifty-four to sixty miles, in a southwesterly direction from Markland. The distance from Cape Sable to Cape Cod is stated in nautical works as being W. by S. about seventy leagues, that is, about two hundred miles. Biarne's description of the coast is very accurate, and in the island situate to the eastward (between which and the promontory that stretches to eastward and northward Leif sailed) we recognise Nantucket. The ancient Northmen found there many shallows (*grunn-sæfui mik-it*) ; modern navigators make mention at the same place "of numerous reefs and other shoals," and say "that the whole presents an aspect of drowned land."

KIALARNES (from *kiölr*, a keel, and *nes*, a cape, most likely on account of its striking resemblance to the keel of a ship, particularly of one of the long ships of the ancient Northmen) must consequently be *Cape Cod*,

the NAUSET of the Indians, which modern geographers have sometimes likened to a horn, and sometimes to a sickle or scythe. The ancient Northmen found here trackless deserts (*ör-æfi*), and long narrow beaches and sandhills, or sands (*strand-ir lángr-ar ok sand-ar*) of a very peculiar appearance, on which account they called them FURDU-STRAND-IR (*Wonder-strands*, from *furð-a*, *res miranda*, and *strönd*, strand, beach.) Compare the description given of this cape by a modern author, Hitchcock: "The *Dunes* or *sandhills*, which are often nearly or quite barren of vegetation, and of snowy whiteness, *forcibly attract the attention on account of their peculiarity*. As we approach the extremity of the cape, the sand and barrenness increase; and in not a few places it would need only a party of Bedouin Arabs to cross the traveller's path to make him feel that he was in the depths of *an Arabian or Libyan desert*." A remarkable natural phenomenon which is observed there has also most probably had a share in giving rise to that peculiar name. It is thus described by the same author: "In crossing *the sands* of the cape, I noticed *a singular mirage* or deception. In Orleans, for instance, we seem-

ed to be ascending at an angle of three or four degrees; nor was I convinced that such was not the case, until, turning about, I perceived that a similar ascent appeared in the road just passed over. I shall not attempt to explain this optical deception, but merely remark that it is probably of the same kind as that observed by Humboldt on the Pampas of Venezuela: "all around us," says he, "the plains seemed to ascend towards the sky." Thus we observe that the appellation given by the ancient Northmen to the three strands or tracts of coast, *Nauset Beach*, *Chatham Beach*, and *Monomoy Beach*, is remarkably appropriate.

The great *Gulf Stream*, as it is called, which issues from the Gulf of Mexico, and runs between Florida, Cuba, and the Bahama Isles, and so northward in a direction parallel to the eastern coast of North America, and of which the channel, in ancient times, is said to have approached still nearer to the coast, occasions great currents precisely at this place, inasmuch as the peninsula of Barnstable offers opposition to the stream as it comes from the southward. The STRAUM-FIORDR of the ancient Northmen is supposed to be *Buzzard's Bay*, and STRAUM-

EY, *Martha's Vineyard*; although the accounts of the many eggs found there would seem more precisely to correspond to the island which lies off the entrance of Vineyard Sound, and which to this day is called *Egg Island*.

KROSS-A-NES is probably *Gurnet Point*. It must have been somewhat to the northward of this that Karlsefne landed when he saw the mountain range (*the Blue Hills*), which he considered as forming a part of the same range that extends to the region where we recognise the place named Hóp (*i Hóp-e*).

The word HOP, in Icelandic, may either denote a small recess or bay formed by a river from the interior falling into an inlet from the sea, or the land bordering on such a bay. To this Mount Hope's Bay, or MONT HAUP's Bay, as the Indians term it, corresponds, through which the Taunton River flows, and, by means of the very narrow, yet navigable Pocasset River, meets the approaching water of the ocean at its exit at Seaconnet. It was at this Hópe that Leifsbooths were situate; it was above it, and therefore most probably on the beautiful elevation called afterward by the Indians MONT HAUP, that Thorfinn Karlsefne erected his dwelling-houses.

II. *Climate and Soil.*

Concerning the climate of the country and the quality of the soil, and also concerning some of its productions, the ancient writings contain sundry illustrative remarks. The climate was so mild that it appeared the cattle did not require winter fodder; for there came no snow, and the grass was but slightly withered. Warden uses similar expressions respecting this region: "*La température est si douce que la végétation souffre rarement du froid ou de la sécheresse. On l'appelle le paradis de l'Amérique parcequ'elle l'emporte sur les autres lieux par sa situation, son sol et son climat.*" "An excursion from Taunton to Newport, Rhode Island, down Taunton River and Mount Hope Bay, conducts the traveller among scenery of great beauty and loveliness," says Hitchcock; and when he adds "that the beautiful appearance of the country, and the interesting historical associations connected with that region, conspire to keep the attention alive and to gratify the taste," he will find that this last remark is applicable to times much more remote than he thought of when he gave expression to the above sentiment.

A country of such a nature might well deserve the appellation of "THE GOOD," which was the epithet the ancient Northmen bestowed on it, especially as it yielded productions whereon they set a high value, and of which their colder native land was for the most part destitute.

III. *Produce and Natural History.*

Vines grew there spontaneously; a circumstance which Adam of Bremen, a foreign writer of the same (that is, of the eleventh) century, mentions that he had learned, not from conjecture, but from authentic accounts furnished by Danes. As his authority on this occasion, he cites the Danish king Sveyn Estrithson, a nephew of Canute the Great. It is well known that vines still grow in that region in great abundance.

Spontaneously growing wheat (*sjálf sán-ir hveiti-akrar.*) At the subsequent arrival of the Europeans, maize, or Indian corn, as it is called, was found growing here; this the natives reaped without having sowed, and they preserved it in holes in the earth, as it constituted one of their most valuable articles of food. Honeydew was found on the island which lies off it, as is also still the case.

Mazer (*mausur*,) a species of wood of remarkable beauty, probably a species of the *Acer rubrum* or *Acer saccharinum*, which grows here, and which is called "bird's eye" or "curled maple." Wood for building was also obtained here.

A great number of forest animals of all kinds. It is understood that the Indians chose this region in preference for their abode, chiefly on account of the excellent hunting.

At present the forests are for the most part cut down, and the animals have withdrawn to the interior and woodland regions. From the natives the Northmen bought squirrel-skins and all kinds of peltries, which are still to be found in abundance in this district.

Eider-ducks and other *birds* were found in great numbers on the adjacent islands, as is also at present the case, on which account some of them have the name of Egg Islands.

Every river was full of *fish*, among which are mentioned excellent *salmon*. On the coast was also caught a great quantity of fish. The Northmen dug ditches along the shore, within the high water-mark, and when the tide receded they found *halibuts* in the ditches. On the coast they also caught *whales*,

and among these the *reiðr* (*Balæna physalus*). In the modern descriptions of this region it is stated that "all the rivers are full of fish;" and of the waters in that neighbourhood it is said "il y a une grande abondance de poissons de presque toutes les espèces." Salmon may be mentioned as one of these. Not long ago, the whale fishery was, in that very region, an important branch of industry, especially for the inhabitants of the adjacent islands. Very possibly the adjacent Whale Rock has its name from the same circumstances.

IV. *Astronomical Evidence.*

Besides the nautical and geographical statements, one of the most ancient writings has preserved an *astronomical* notice, where it was said that here the days were of more equal length than in Iceland or Greenland; that on the shortest day the sun rose at half past seven o'clock, and set at half past four, which makes the shortest day nine hours. This astronomical observation gives for the place latitude $41^{\circ} 24' 10''$. The latitude of Seaconnet Point, and of the southernmost promontory of the Island of Conannicut, is $41^{\circ} 26'$ north, and that of Point Judith 41°

23. These three headlands form the entrance boundaries of the modern Mount Hope Bay, which the ancients, according to the analogy of their language, no doubt, called HOPSVATN. We thus see that this statement corresponds exactly with the other data, and indicates precisely the same region.

DISCOVERIES OF MORE SOUTHERN REGIONS.

The party sent by Thorwald Ericson, in the year 1003, from Leifsbooths, to explore the southern coasts, employed from four to five months in the expedition; they therefore most likely examined the coasts of Connecticut and New-York, probably also those of New-Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. The description of this range of coast is accurate

ARE MARSON'S SOJOURN IN GREAT IRELAND.

In those times the Esquimaux inhabited more southerly regions than they do at present. This is both evident from the ancient accounts, and seems, besides, to gain corroboration from ancient skeletons which have been dug up in regions even more southerly than those in question; a circumstance which, however, merits a more accurate examina-

tion. In the neighbourhood of Vineland, opposite the country inhabited by the Esquimaux, there dwelled, according to their reports, people who wore white dresses, and had poles borne before them, on which were fastened lappets, and who shouted with a loud voice. This country was supposed to be HVITRA-MANN-A-LAND, as it was called (*the Land of the White Men*), otherwise called IR-LAND IT MIKLA (*Great Ireland*), being probably that part of the coast of North America which extends southward from Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Among the Shawanese Indians, who some years ago emigrated from Florida, and are now settled in Ohio, there is preserved a tradition which seems of importance here, viz., that Florida was once inhabited by white people, who were in possession of iron implements. Judging from the ancient accounts, this must have been an Irish Christian people, who, previous to the year 1000, were settled in this region. The powerful chieftain ARE MARSON, of Reikianes, in Iceland, was, in the year 903, driven thither by storms, and there received baptism. The first author of this account was his contemporary Rafa, surnamed the Lim-

erick-trader, he having long resided at Limerick, in Ireland. The illustrious Icelandic sage Are Frode, the first compiler of the Landnama, who was himself a descendant in the fourth degree from Are Marson, states on this subject, that his uncle, Thorkell Geller-son (whose testimony he on another occasion declares to be worthy of all credit), had been informed by Icelanders, who had their information from Thorfinn Sigurdson, earl of Orkney, that Are had been recognised in Hvitramannaland, and could not get away from thence, but was there held in high respect. This statement therefore shows that in those times there was an occasional intercourse between the western European countries (the Orkneys and Ireland) and this part of America.

VOYAGES OF BIERN ASBRANDSON AND GUDLEIF
GUDLAUGSON.

It must have been in this same country that BIERN AS-BRANDSON, surnamed BREID-VIK-INGA-KAPPI, spent the latter part of his life. He had been adopted into the celebrated band of Jomsburg warriors, under Palnatoke, and took part with them in the battle of Fyrisval, in Sweden. His illicit amatory con-

nexion with Thurida of Frodo, in Iceland, a sister of the powerful Snorre Gode, drew upon him the enmity and persecution of the latter; in consequence of which, he found himself obliged to quit the country forever, and in the year 999 he set sail from Hraunhöfn, in Sniofelsnes, with a N.E. wind. GUDLEIF GUDLAUGSON, brother of Thorfinn, the ancestor of the celebrated historian Snorre Sturluson, had made a trading voyage to Dublin; but when he left that place again, with the intention of sailing round Ireland and returning to Iceland, he met with long-continued northeasterly winds, which drove him far out of his course to the southwest, and late in the season he, along with his company, at last made land; the country was very extensive, but they knew not what country it was. On their landing, a crowd of the natives, amounting to several hundreds in number, came against them, overpowered, and bound them. They did not know anybody in the crowd, but it seemed to them that their language resembled Irish. The natives now took counsel whether they should kill the strangers or make slaves of them. While they were deliberating, a large company approached, displaying a banner, close to

which rode a man of distinguished appearance, who was far advanced in years, and had gray hair. The matter under deliberation was referred to his decision. He was the aforesaid Biörn Asbrandson. He caused Gudleif to be brought before him, and, addressing him in the Norse language, he asked him whence he came. As he replied that he was an Icelfander, Biörn made many inquiries about his acquaintance in Iceland, particularly about his beloved Thurida of Frodo, and about her son, and who at that time was the proprietor of the estate of Frodo. In the mean time, the natives becoming impatient and demanding a decision, Biörn selected twelve of his company as counsellors; he took them aside, and some time after he went towards Gudleif and his companions, and told them that the natives had left the matter to his decision. He thereupon gave them their liberty, and advised them, although the summer was already far advanced, to depart immediately, because the natives were not to be depended on, and were difficult to deal with; and, moreover, conceived that an infringement on their laws had been committed to their disadvantage. He gave them a gold ring for Thurida, and a sword for Kiar-

tan, and told them to charge his friends and relations not to come over to him, as he was now become old, and might daily expect that old age would get the better of him; that the country was large, having but few harbours, and that strangers must everywhere expect a hostile reception. They accordingly set sail again, and found their way back to Dublin. where they spent the winter; but next summer they repaired to Iceland and delivered the presents; and all were convinced that it was really Biörn Asbrandson whom they had met with in that country.

BISHOP ERIC'S VOYAGE TO VINELAND.

It may be considered as certain that the intercourse between Vineland and Greenland was maintained for a considerable period after this, although the scanty notices about Greenland contained in the ancient manuscripts do not furnish us with any satisfactory information on this head. It is, however, recorded, that the Greenland bishop ERIC, impelled probably by a Christian zeal either of converting the colonists, or of animating them to perseverance in the faith, went over to Vineland in the year 1121. As we have no information of the result of his voyage, but

can merely gather from the above expression that he reached his destination, we must presume that he fixed his permanent residence in Vineland. His voyage, however, goes to corroborate the supposition of a lengthened intercourse having been kept up between the countries.

DISCOVERIES IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS OF AMERICA.

The next event in chronological order, of which accounts have been preserved in ancient records, is a voyage of discovery in the Arctic regions of America, performed during the year 1266, under the auspices of some clergymen of the bishopric of Garðar, in Greenland. The account of it is taken from a letter, addressed by a clergyman of the name of Halldor to another clergyman named Arnold, formerly established in Greenland, but who had then become chaplain to the Norwegian king, Magnus Lagabæter. At that time all men of any consequence in Greenland possessed large vessels, built for the purpose of being despatched northward in hunting and fishing expeditions. The northern regions which they visited were called Norðr-set-ur; the chief stations were Greipar and Króks-

fiarð-ar-heiði. The first of these stations is supposed to have been situate immediately to the southward of Disco ; but that the ancient Northmen went much farther north on this coast may be inferred from a very remarkable runic stone, found in the year 1824, on the island of Kin-gik-tor-sóak, lying in the latitude of 72° 55' N. The latter-mentioned station was to the north of the former. The object of the voyage is stated to have been to explore regions lying more to the northward than those they had hitherto been accustomed to visit, consequently lying farther north than KROKS-FIARD-AR-HEIDI, where they had their summer quarters (*set-ur*), and which they were therefore regularly accustomed to visit. The following particulars are mentioned relating to this voyage of discovery. They sailed *out of* Króks-fiarð-ar-heiði, and after that encountered southerly winds, accompanied by thick weather, which obliged them to let the ship go before the wind. On the weather clearing up they saw many islands, and all kinds of prey, both seals and whales, and a great many bears. They penetrated into the innermost part of the gulf, and had icebergs (*glaciers*) lying also to the southward as far as the eye could reach. They observed some

vestiges indicating that the Skrellings had in former times inhabited these regions, but they could not land on account of the bears. They then put about and sailed back during three days; and now again they found traces of the Skrellings having been on some islands lying to the southward of a mountain, by them called Sniofell. After this (on St. James's day) they proceeded southward a great day's rowing. It froze during the night in those regions, but the sun was above the horizon both night and day; and when on the meridian in the south, he was not higher than that when a man lay down across a six-oared boat, stretched out towards the gunwale, the shadow formed by the side of the boat nearest the sun reached his face; but at midnight the sun was as high as when it was (highest) in the northwest in the Greenland colony. Afterward they sailed back again to their home at Garðar. Króks-fiarð-ar-heiði, as we have observed above, had been for some time previous regularly visited by the Greenlanders. The name shows that the frith was surrounded by barren highlands (*heið-i*), and the description of the voyage shows that it was a frith of considerable extent, in and through which there was room for several days' sail.

I.—K

It is stated, for instance, that they sailed *out of* this frith or sound into another sea, and into the innermost part of a gulf, and that their returning voyage occupied several days. As to the two observations mentioned as having been taken on St. James's day, the first of them leads to no certain result, as we have no sure means of ascertaining the depth of the boat, or, rather, the relative depth of the man's position as he lay across the boat, in reference to the height of the side of the same, so as to enable us to deduce the angle formed by the upper edge of the boat's side and the man's face, which is the angle measuring the sun's altitude at noon on St. James's day, or the 25th of July. If we assume, as we may do with probability, that it was somewhat less than 33° , and yet very near that measure, the place must have been situate near north latitude 75° . There seems no probability that it was a larger angle, and, consequently, that the place lay more to the southward. The result obtained from the other observation is, however, more satisfactory. In the thirteenth century, on the 25th of July, the sun's declination was $+17^{\circ} 54'$; inclination of the ecliptic, $23^{\circ} 32'$. If we now assume that the colony, and particularly

the episcopa. seat of Garðar, was situate on the north side of Igaliko Frith, where the ruins of a large church and of many other buildings indicate the site of a principal settlement of the ancient colony, consequently in $60^{\circ} 55'$ north latitude, then, at the summer solstice, the height of the sun there, when in the northwest, was $= 3^{\circ} 40'$, equivalent to the midnight altitude of the sun on St. James's day in the parallel of $75^{\circ} 46'$, which falls a little to the north of Barrow's Strait, being in the latitude of Wellington's Channel, or close to the northward of the same. The voyage of discovery undertaken by the Greenland clergyman was therefore carried to regions which in our days have been more accurately explored, and their geographical position determined by Sir William Parry, Sir John Ross, and Captain James Clark Ross, and other British navigators, in the no less daring and dangerous expeditions conducted by them.

NEWFOUNDLAND REDISCOVERED FROM ICELAND.

The discovery next recorded was made by the Iceland clergymen ADALBRAND and THORWALD HELGASON, well known in the history of Iceland as having been involved in the

disputes at that time prevailing between the Norwegian king, Eric Priesthater, and the clergy, and which in Iceland were chiefly headed by the governor, Rafa Oddson, and Arne Thorlakson, bishop of Skalholt. Accounts drawn up by contemporaries contain merely the brief notice, that in the year 1285 the above-mentioned clergymen discovered a new land to the westward of Iceland (*fundu nyja land*). This land, to which, by command of King Eric Priesthater, a voyage was some years afterward projected by Landa-Rolf, is supposed to have been *Newfoundland*.

A VOYAGE TO MARKLAND IN THE YEAR 1347.

The last piece of information respecting America which our ancient manuscripts have preserved, refers to a voyage in the year 1347 from Greenland to MARK-LAND, performed in a vessel having a crew of seventeen men, being probably undertaken for the purpose of bringing home building-timber and other supplies from that country. On the voyage homeward from Markland, the ship was driven out of her course by storms, and arrived with loss of anchors at Straumfiord, in the west of Iceland. From the accounts, scanty as they are, of this voyage, written by

a contemporary nine years after the event, it would appear that the intercourse between Greenland and America proper had been kept up to so late a date as the year above mentioned; for it is expressly said that the ship went to Markland, which is thus named as a country that in those days was still known and visited.

* * * * *

After having perused the authentic documents themselves, which are now accessible to all, every one will acknowledge the truth of the historical fact, that during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the ancient Northmen discovered and visited a great extent of the eastern coasts of North America; and will, besides, be led to the conviction that, during the centuries immediately following, the intercourse never was entirely discontinued. The main fact is certain and indisputable. On the other hand, there are in these, as in all other ancient writings, certain portions of the narrative which are obscure, and which subsequent disquisitions and new interpretations may serve to clear up. On this account it seems of importance that the original sources of information should be published in the ancient language, so that every one may have

it in his power to consult them, and to form his own judgment as to the accuracy of the interpretations given.

With regard to such traces of the residence and settlement of the ancient Northmen as, it is presumed, are still to be met with in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (the countries which formed the destination of their earliest American expeditions), we shall content ourselves for the present with referring to the hints which are contained in the "*ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ*." This matter will continue to form a subject for the accurate investigation of the COMMITTEE of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries on THE ANTE-COLUMBIAN HISTORY OF AMERICA; and the result of this investigation, together with such additional elucidations of the ancient manuscripts as we may have it in our power to furnish, shall be communicated in the ANNALS and MEMOIRS of the Society.]

II. MADOC.

THIS person is supposed to have discovered America, and brought a colony of his countrymen hither, before the discovery made by Columbus. The story of his emigration from Wales is thus related by Hakluyt, whose book was first published in 1589, and a second edition of it in 1600.*

“The voyage of Madoc, the son of Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, to the West Indies in the year 1170, taken out of the History of Wales lately published by M. David Powel, Doctor of Divinitie.”

“After the death of Owen Guyneth, his sons fell at debate who should inherit after him. For the eldest son born in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted unmeet to govern, because of the maim upon his face; and Howel, that took upon him all the rule, was a base son begotten of an Irish woman. Therefore David gathered all the power he could and came against Howel, and, fighting with him, slew him, and afterward en-

* [Vol. iii., p. 1, ed. 1600.—H.]

joyed quietly the whole land of North Wales, until his brother Iorwerth's son came to age.

“MADOC, another of Owen Guyneth his sons, left the land in contention between his brethren, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by sea, sailing *west*, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far *north* that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

“This land must needs be some part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. [*For by reason and order of cosmographie, this land to the which Madoc came must needs be some part of Nova Hispania or Florida.] Whereupon it is manifest that that country was by Britains discovered long before [either] Columbus [or Americus Vesputius] led any Spaniards thither.

“Of the voyage and return of that Madoc there be many fables feigned, as the common people do use, in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than diminish, but *sure it is there he was*. And after he had returned home and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had

* The words included in crotchets [] are omitted in the second edition of Hakluyt's Voyages.

seen *without inhabitants* ; and upon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness ; and, taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherward again.

“ Therefore it is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countries ; for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honoured the cross, whereby it may be gathered that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards. But because this people were not many, they followed the *manners* of the land they came unto, and used the *language* they found there.

“ This Madoc arriving in that western country, unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and, returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance, and friends to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again with ten sails, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereto he came was some part of [Mexico ;* the causes which make me think so be these :

* In the second edition the word *Mexico* is changed for *the West Indies*, and the two following paragraphs are omitted.

“1. The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirm that their rulers descended from a strange nation that came thither from a far country; which thing is confessed by Mutezuma, king of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people, at his submission to the King of Castile, Hernando Cortez being then present, which is laid down in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

“2. The British words and names of places used in that country even to this day do argue the same; as, when they talk together, they use the word *gwrando*, which is hearken or listen. Also they have a certain bird with a *white* head, which they call *penguin*, that is, white head. But the island of *Corroeso*, the river of *Guyndor*, and the white rock of *Penguyn*, which be all British or Welsh words, do manifestly show that it was that country which Madoc and his people inhabited.]

“*Carmina Meredith filii Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Owein Guynedd et de sua navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini 1477.**

* [i. e., Songs of Meredith, the son of Rhesus (ap. Rees), making mention of Madoc, the son of Owen Guynedd, and of his

“Madoc wyf, mwyledic wedd
 Iawn genau, Owyn Guyned
 Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
 Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

“These verses I received of my learned friend, Mr. William Camden.

The same in English.

“Madoc I am, the son of Owen Guynedd,
 With stature large, and comely grace adorned.
 No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please,
 My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.”

In this extract from Hakluyt is contained all the original information which I have been able to find respecting the supposed discovery of America by the Welsh. The account itself is confused and contradictory. The country discovered by Madoc is said to be “without inhabitants;” and yet the people whom he carried thither “followed the manners of the land, and used the language they found there.” Though the Welsh emigrants lost their language, yet the author attempts to prove the truth of his story by the preservation of several Welsh words in the American tongues.* Among these he is unfortunate in sailing to unknown lands. This Meredith lived about the year of our Lord 1477.—H.]

* The argument does not seem liable to much objection in its nature. For in the blending of nations and of languages, each

the choice of "*penguin*, a bird with a *white head*," all the birds of that name on the American shores having black or dark brown heads; and the name *penguin* is said to have been originally *pinguedine*, from their excessive fatness.*

Among the proofs which some late writers have adduced in support of the discovery of America by Madoc is this, that a language resembling the Welsh was spoken by a tribe of Indians in North Carolina, and that it is still used by a nation situate on some of the western waters of the Mississippi. If that part of the account preserved by Hakluyt be true, that the language was lost, it is vain to offer an argument of this kind in support of the truth of this story; but a question may here arise: How could any report of the loss of their language have been transmitted to Europe at so early a period?†

An attempt has lately been made to ascertain the truth of this piece of history by Dr.

will probably gain and lose somewhat. The uncertainty of the facts and the scantiness of the examples are a better and sufficient ground of doubt.—H.]

* See the new Encyclopedia, under the article AMERICA.

† [Without leaving some more distinct trace of the position of the colony.]

John Williams. I have not seen the book itself, but if the critical reviewers may be credited,* no new facts have been adduced. It is remarked by them, that "if Madoc *once* reached America, it is difficult to explain how he could return home; and it would be more improbable that he should arrive in America a *second* time, of which there is not the slightest evidence." They also observe, that "if Madoc sailed westward from Wales, the currents would rather have carried him to Nova Scotia than to the southward."

The mentioning of Nova Scotia reminds me of some words in the native language of that country which begin with two syllables resembling the name of Madoc.† A sachem of the Penobscot tribe, who lived in the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century, bore the name of *Madokawando*. A village on Penobscot River was called *Madawankee*. One branch of the River St. John, which runs into the Bay of Fundy, is *Medoctack*, and another is *Medocscenecasis*. The advocates of this opinion may avail themselves as far as they can of this coincidence, but in my apprehension it is too precarious to be the basis of any just conclusion.

* Critical Review for 1791, p. 357.

† See Gyles's Memoirs of his Captivity in 1689.

After all that has been or can be said on the subject, we must observe with the critical reviewers, that "if Madoc left Wales and discovered any other country, it must always remain uncertain where that country is."* Dr. Robertson thinks, if he made any discovery at all, it might be Madeira or one of the Azores.†

The book of Hakluyt, in which the original story is preserved, was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the time of her controversy with Spain. The design of his bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and, consequently, the right of the crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages evidently tend to the establishment of that claim. But if the story of Biron be true, which (though Hakluyt has said nothing of it) is better authenticated than this of Madoc, the right of the crown of Den-

* [There are no data from which it can be ascertained; no intimation of latitude, climate, or distance; nothing more than that from Ireland it was southwest.—H.]

† Hist. Amer., vol. i., p. 374 [note 17].

mark is, on the principle of prior discovery, superior to either of them.

Perhaps the whole mystery may be unveiled if we advert to this one circumstance, the time when Hakluyt's book was first published. National prejudice might prevail, even with so honest a writer, to convert a Welsh fable into a political argument to support, against a powerful rival, the claim of his sovereign to the dominion of this continent.

III. ZENO.

It is well known that the Venetians were reckoned among the most expert and adventurous of the maritime nations. In that republic, the family of ZENO or ZENI is not only very ancient and of high rank, but celebrated for illustrious achievements. Nicolo Zeno, having exhibited great valour in a war with the Genoese, conceived an ardent desire, agreeably to the genius of his nation, to travel, that he might, by his acquaintance with foreign nations and languages, render himself more illustrious and more useful. With this view he equipped a vessel at his own expense, and sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar to the northward [A.D. 1380], with an intention to visit Britain and Flanders; but by a storm which lasted many days, he was cast away on the coast of *Frisland*.*

The prince of the country Zichmni (or, as Purchas spells, it Zichmui) finding Zeno an

* [The narrative, gathered from the letters of the brothers Zeni, is given in an abridged form in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, iii., 610; and more fully in Hakluyt, iii., 121-128.—H.]

expert seaman, gave him the command of his fleet, consisting of thirteen vessels, of which two only were rowed with oars ; one was a ship, and the rest were small barks. With this fleet he made conquests and depredations in Ledovo, and Ilofo, and other small islands, several barks laden with fish being a part of his capture.

Nicolo wrote to his brother Antonio Zeno at Venice, inviting him to Frisland, whither he went, and, being taken into the service of Zichmni, continued with him fourteen years. The fleet sailed on an expedition to *Estland*, where they committed great ravages ; but, hearing that the King of Norway was coming against them with a superior fleet, they departed, and were driven by a storm on shoals, where part of the fleet was wrecked, and the rest were saved on *Grisland*, “ a great island, but not inhabited.”

Zichmni then determined to attack Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway ; but, finding it well fortified and defended, and his fleet being diminished, he retired and built a fort in *Bress*, one of seven small islands, where he left Nicolo and returned to Frisland.

In the next spring Zeno, with three small

barks, sailed to the northward on discovery, and arrived at *Engroenland*, where he found a monastery of friars, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, situate near a volcano, and heated by warm springs flowing from the mountain.

After the death of Nicolo, which happened in about four years, Antonio succeeded him in the command of the fleet; and the Prince Zichmni, aiming at the sovereignty of the sea, undertook an expedition *westward*, because that some fishermen had discovered rich and populous islands in that quarter.

The report of the fishermen was, that above a thousand miles westward from Frisland, to which distance they had been driven by a tempest, there was an island called *Estotiland*, which they had discovered twenty-six years before; that six men in one boat were driven upon the island, and, being taken by the inhabitants, were brought into a fair and populous city; that the king of the place sent for many interpreters, but none was found who could understand the language of the fishermen, except one who could speak Latin, and he had formerly been cast ashore on the island; that, on his reporting their case to the king, he detained them five years, in

which time they learned the language; that one of them visited divers parts of the island, and reported that it was a very rich country, abounding with all the commodities of the world; that it was less than Iceland, but far more fruitful, having in the middle a very high mountain, from which originated four rivers.

The inhabitants were described as very ingenious, having all mechanic arts. They had a peculiar kind of language and letters; in the king's library were preserved Latin books, which they did not understand. They had all kinds of metals (but especially gold, with which they mightily abounded.*) They held traffic with the people of Engroenland, from whence they brought furs, pitch, and brimstone. They had many great forests, which supplied them with timber for the building of ships, houses, and fortifications. The use of the loadstone was not known; but these fishermen having the mariner's compass, were held in so high estimation that the king sent them with twelve barks to a country at the southward, called *Drogio*, where

* This passage is in Hakluyt's translation, and the abridgment by Ortelius; but Dr. Forster could not find it in the Italian original of Ramusio.—Northern Voyages, p. 189.

the most of them were killed and devoured by cannibals; but one of them saved himself by showing the savages a way of taking fish by nets, in much greater plenty than by any other mode before known among them. This fisherman was in so great demand with the princes of the country, that they frequently made war on each other for the sake of gaining him. In this manner he passed from one to another, till, in the space of thirteen years, he had lived with twenty-five different princes, to whom he communicated his "miraculous" art of fishing with nets.

He thus became acquainted with every part of the country, which he described to be so extensive as to merit the name of a *new world*. The people were rude, and ignorant of the use of clothing, though their climate was cold, and afforded beasts for the chase. In their hunting and wars they used the bow and the lance, but they knew not the use of metal.

Farther to the southwest the air was said to be more temperate and the people more civil. They dwelt in cities, built temples, and worshipped idols, to whom they offered human victims; and they had plenty of gold and silver.

The fisherman, having become fully ac-

quainted with the country, meditated a return. Having fled through the woods to Drogio, after three years some boats arrived from Estotiland, in one of which he embarked for that country; and having acquired considerable property, he fitted out a bark of his own and returned to Frisland.

Such was the report of the fisherman, upon hearing of which Zichmni resolved to equip his fleet and go in search of the new country, Antonio Zeno being the second in command. But "the preparation for the voyage to Estotiland was begun in an evil hour; the fisherman, who was to have been the pilot, died three days before their departure."

However, taking certain mariners who had sailed with the fisherman, Zichmni began the intended voyage. When he had sailed a small distance to the westward, he was overtaken by a storm which lasted eight days, at the end of which they discovered land, which the natives called *Icaria*. They were numerous and formidable, and would not permit him to come on shore. From this place they sailed six days to the westward with a fair wind, but a heavy gale from the southward drove them four days before it, when they discovered land, in which was a volcano.

The air was mild and temperate, it being the neight of summer. They took a great quantity of fish, of seafowl and their eggs. A party, who penetrated the country as far as the foot of the volcano, found a spring, from which issued "a certain water like pitch, which ran into the sea." They discovered some of the inhabitants, who were of small stature and wild, and who, at the approach of the strangers, hid themselves in their caves. Having found a good harbour, Zichmni intended to make a settlement; but his people opposing it, he dismissed part of the fleet under Zeno, who returned to Frisland.

The particulars of this narrative were first written by Antonio Zeno, in letters to his brother Carlo at Venice, from some fragments of which a compilation was made by Francisco Marcolini, and preserved by Ramusio. It was translated by Richard Hakluyt, and printed in the third volume of the second edition of his collections, page 121, &c. From it Ortelius has made an extract in his *Theatrum Orbis*.

Dr. Forster has taken much pains to examine the whole account, both geographically and historically. The result of his inquiry is, that Frisland is one of the Orkneys; that

Porland is the cluster of islands called Faro; and that Estland is Shetland.

At first, indeed, he was of opinion that "the countries described by the Zenos actually existed at that time, but had since been swallowed up by the sea in a great earthquake."* This opinion he founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic original, as is evident with respect to Iceland and the Faro Islands in the North Sea; the Azores, Teneriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verds, St. Helena, and Ascension in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otaheite, Easter, the Marquesas, and other islands in the Pacific. This opinion he was induced to relinquish, partly because "so great a revolution must have left behind it some historical vestiges or traditions," but principally because his knowledge of the Runic language suggested to him a resemblance between the names mentioned by Zeno and those which are given to some of the islands of Orkney, Shetland, Faro, and the Hebrides.

However presumptuous it may appear to call in question the opinion of so learned and diligent an inquirer, on a subject which his

* Northern Voyages, Dublin edition, p. 200.

philological and geographical knowledge must enable him to examine with the greatest precision, yet, from the search which I have had opportunity to make, it appears to me that his first opinion was right as far as it respects Frisland, and perhaps Porland. My reasons are these :

1. Dr. Forster says that Frisland was "much larger than Iceland ;"* and Hakluyt, in his account of Zeno's voyage, speaks of it as "bigger than Ireland."† Neither of these accounts can agree with the supposition of its being one of the Orkneys ; for Iceland is 346 miles long and 200 wide. Ireland is 310 in length and 184 in breadth ; but Pomona, the mainland of the Orkneys, is but 22 miles long and 20 wide.

2. Frisland was seen by Martin Frobisher in each of his three voyages to and from Greenland in the years 1576, 1577, and 1578.‡ In his first voyage he took his departure from Foula, the westernmost of the Shetland Islands, in latitude 60° 30', and, after sailing W. by N. *fourteen days*, he made the land of Frisland, "bearing W.N.W. distant 16 leagues, in latitude 61°."

* Page 181.

Vol. iii., p. 122.

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 30, &c.

In his second voyage he sailed from the Orkneys W.N.W. *twenty-six days* before he came "within making of Frisland," which he thus describes :

" July 4th. We made land perfect, and knew it to be Frisland. Found ourselves in latitude $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and were fallen in with the southernmost part of this land. It is thought to be in bigness *not inferior to England*; and is called of some authors West Frisland. I think it lieth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth to the north very far, as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren, Nicolo and Antonio Zeni, who, being driven off from Ireland about 200 years since, were shipwrecked there. They have in their sea charts described every part, and, for so much of the land as we have sailed along, comparing their charts with the coast, we find it very agreeable. All along this coast the ice lieth as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the country, that those who would land there incur great danger."* In his third voyage he found means to land on the island. The inhabitants fled and hid themselves. Their tents were made of skins, and their boats were like

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 62.

those of Greenland. From these well-authenticated accounts of Frisland, and its situation so far westward of the Orkneys and Shetland, it seems impossible that Dr. Forster's second opinion can be right.

3. One of the reasons which led the doctor to give up his first opinion, that these lands once existed, but had disappeared, was, that so great a revolution must have left some vestige behind. If no person escaped to tell the news, what better vestige can there be than the existence of shoals and rocks in the places where these islands once were known to be? In a map prefixed to Crantz's History of Greenland, there is marked a very extensive shoal between the latitudes of 59° and 60° , called "The sunken land of Buss." Its longitude is between Iceland and Greenland, and the author speaks of it in these words: "Some are of opinion that Frisland was sunk by an earthquake, and that it was situate in those parts where the sunken land of Buss is marked in the maps, which the seamen cautiously avoid, because of the shallow ground and turbulent waves."*

Respecting Buss Island I have met with no other account than what is preserved by Pur-

* Vol. i., p. 273.

chas* in his abridgment of the journal of James Hall's voyages from Denmark to Greenland. In his first voyage [A.D. 1605] he remarks thus: "Being in the latitude of $59\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, we looked to have seen Busse Island; but I do verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong latitude in the marine charts." In his second voyage [1606] he saw land which he "supposed to be Busse Island, lying more to the westward than it is placed in the marine charts;" and the next day, viz., July 2d, he writes, "we were in a great current, setting S.S.W., which I suppose to set between Busse Island and Frisland over towards America."

In a fourth voyage, made in 1612, by the same James Hall, from England, for the discovery of a N.W. passage, of which there is a journal written by John Gatonbe, and preserved in Churchill's Collections,† they kept a good look-out, both in going and returning, for the island of Frisland, but could not see it. In a map prefixed to this voyage, Frisland is laid down between the latitude of 61° and 62° , and Buss in the latitude of 57° . In Gatonbe's journal the distance between Shetland and Frisland is computed to be 260

* Vol. iv., p. 815, 822.

† Vol. vi., p. 260, 268.

leagues; the southernmost part of Frisland and the northernmost part of Shetland are said to be in the same latitude. There is also a particular map of Frisland preserved by Purchas,* in which are delineated several towns and cities; the two islands of Ilofo and Ledovo are laid down to the westward of it, and another called Stromio to the eastward.

In a map of the North Seas prefixed to an anonymous account of Greenland, in Churchill's Collection,† we find Frisland laid down in the latitude of 62° , between Iceland and Greenland.

We have, then, no reason to doubt the existence of these islands as late as the beginning of the last century; at what time they disappeared is uncertain, but that their place has since been occupied by a shoal we have also credible testimony.

The appearance and disappearance of islands in the Northern Sea is no uncommon thing. Besides former events of this kind, there is one very recent. In the year 1783, by means of a volcanic eruption, two islands were produced in the sea near the S.E. coast of Iceland. One was supposed to be so per-

* Vol. iv., p. 625.

† Vol. ii., p. 378.

manent, that the King of Denmark sent and took formal possession of it as part of his dominions; but the ocean, paying no regard to the territorial claim of a mortal sovereign, has since reabsorbed it in his watery bosom.*

These reasons incline me to believe that Dr. Forster's first opinion was well founded, as far as it respects Frisland.

He supposes Porland to be the cluster of islands called Faro.† But Porland is said to lie *south*‡ of Frisland, whereas the Faro Islands lie *northwest* of Orkney, which he supposes to be Frisland. The learned doctor, who is in general very accurate, was not aware of this inconsistency.

In the account which Hakluyt has given of Martin Frobisher's third voyage, we find that one of his ships, the Buss of Bridgewater, in her return fell in with land 50 leagues S.E. of Frisland, "which (it is said) was never found before," the southernmost part of which lay in latitude $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Along the coast of this land, which they judged to extend 25 leagues, they sailed for three days.§ The existence of this land Dr. Forster seems to

* See a new Geographical Grammar, by a society in Edinburgh, published by Alexander Kincaid, vol. i., p. 123.

† Northern Voyages, p. 207.

‡ Ibid., p. 180.

§ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 93.

doubt, but yet allows that, "if it was then really discovered, it must have sunk afterward into the sea, as it has never been seen again, or else these navigators must have been mistaken in their reckoning."

If such an island or cluster of islands did exist in the situation described by Frobisher, it might be the Porland of Zeno; for the southernmost part of Frisland lay in the latitude of $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; the southernmost part of this land in $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, in a direction S.E. from it. It was probably called Buss by the English, from the name of Frobisher's vessel which discovered it.

The only proof which can now be produced of this fact must be the actual existence of rocks and shoals in or near the same place. Of this, it is happily in my power to produce the evidence of two experienced shipmasters, of incontestable veracity, now living.* The first is Isaac Smith, of Malden, near Boston, from whose logbook I have made the following extract: "In a voyage from Petersburg to Boston, in the ship Thomas and Sarah, belonging to Thomas Russell, Esq., of Boston, merchant, Thursday, August 11, 1785, course W.N.W., wind W.S.W. At 4 A.M. discovered a large rock ahead, which

for some time we took to be a ship under close-reefed topsail. At 7, being within two miles, saw breakers under our lee, on which account wore ship. There are breakers in two places bearing S.E.; one a mile, the other two miles from the rock. It lies in lat. $57^{\circ} 38'$; longitude west from London, $13^{\circ} 36'$; and may be discovered five leagues off. We sounded, and had 56 fathoms. The rock appears to be about 100 yards in circumference, and 50 feet above water. It makes like a haystack, black below and white on the top." The other is Nathaniel Goodwin, of Boston, who, in his homeward passage from Amsterdam, on the 15th of August, 1793, saw the same rock. According to his observation (which, however, on that day was a little dubious), it lies in lat $57^{\circ} 48'$, and lon. $13^{\circ} 46'$. He passed within two miles of it to the southward, and saw breakers to the northward of it. Its appearance he describes in the same manner with Smith.

From these authorities I am strongly inclined to believe that the shoal denominated "the sunken land of Buss" is either a part of the ancient Frisland or of some island in its neighbourhood; and that the rock and ledges seen by Smith and Goodwin belonged

to the cluster once called Porland. If these conclusions be admitted, there can be no suspicion of fiction in the story of Zeno, as far it respects Prince Zichmni and his expeditions. Shetland may then well enough agree with Estland, which is described by Hakluyt as lying "between Frisland and Norway."*

The only place which in Zeno's relation is called by the same name by which it is now known, is Iceland; though there can be no doubt that Engroenland, or Engroneland, is the same with Greenland, where, according to Crantz, there was once a church dedicated to St. Thomas, and situate near a volcano and a hot spring.†

But the question is, Where shall we find Estotiland? Dr. Forster is positive that "it cannot be any other country than Winland (discovered in 1001), where the Normans made a settlement." The Latin books seen there by the fisherman he supposes to have been the library of Eric, bishop of Greenland, who went thither in the twelfth century to convert his countrymen. He is also of opinion that this fisherman had the use of the

* Vol. iii., p. 122.

† Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii., p. 265. Purchas, vol. iv., p. 651.

magnetic needle, which began to be known in Europe about the year 1302, before the time of the Zenos. He also thinks that the country called Drogio is the same with Florida.

In some of the old maps, particularly in Sanson's French Atlas, the name Estotiland is marked on the country of Labrador; but the pompous description of it by the fisherman, whether it be Labrador or New-Ffoundland, exceeds all the bounds of credibility, and abuses even the license of a traveller. The utmost extent of Zichmni's expedition, in consequence of the fisherman's report, could not be any farther westward than Greenland, to which his description well agrees. The original inhabitants were short of stature, half wild, and lived in caverns; and between the years 1380 and 1384 they had extirpated the Normans and the monks of St. Thomas.

The discovery of Estotiland must therefore rest on the report of the fisherman; but the description of it, of Drogio, and the country S.W. of Drogio, must be ranked in the fabulous history of America, and would probably have been long since forgotten if Christopher Columbus had not made his grand discovery, from the merit of which his rivals and the enemies of the Spanish nation have uniformly endeavoured to detract.

IV. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.*

THE adventures which have been already spoken of were more the result of accident than design; we are now entering on one founded in science and conducted by judgment; an adventure which, whether we regard its conception, its execution, or its consequences, will always reflect the highest honour on him who projected it.

[* Since the life of Columbus was written by Dr. Belknap, the subject has been investigated with much ardour and research, and new documents and sources of evidence have been brought to light. Many particulars of the history of that renowned navigator which were then doubtful have been rendered certain, many that were obscure have been made plain; and though, in some respects, we may still look for farther and more precise information, we have yet enough to enable us to do ample justice to his merits, and to furnish us with a satisfactory conception of his character and achievements.

Of the works which have been written to illustrate his history, and to which the reader is referred for more minute or extended information, the *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, by Washington Irving, is deserving of special notice. It is in two volumes 8vo, with an additional volume relating to the *Companions of Columbus*. We are indebted to this work mainly for the corrections and additions we have made to the sketch by Dr. Belknap, which we have made more few and brief, because that work is within the reach of almost every one.

—H.]

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese, under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II., were pushing their discoveries along the western shore of Africa, to find a passage by the south to India, a genius arose, whose memory has been preserved with veneration in the pages of history, as the instrument of enlarging the region of science and commerce beyond any of his predecessors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447,* and at the age of fourteen entered on a seafaring life,† as the proper sphere in which

* [Mr. Irving, with greater probability, places the birth of Columbus in the year 1435 or 1436. The family name is Colombo, Latinized by the discoverer into Columbus, and in Spanish Colon. His father was a wool-comber. Christopher was the eldest of four children. He was educated as well as the scanty means of his father would allow, and sent for a while to the University of Pavia, where he learned the elements of those sciences which are useful in navigation, to which he early showed a strong inclination.—H.]

† [Probably under Colombo, an experienced sea-captain and a distant relation. The navigation of the Mediterranean was then perilous, from the number of piratical cruisers who roved over it, and the perpetual feuds of the nations on its banks, and involved the mariner in constant hardships, while it required and created in him great vigilance, daring, and address. Columbus was probably engaged in the various maritime services then common and accounted lawful among those who sailed in that

his vigorous mind was destined to perform exploits which should astonish mankind.* He was educated in the sciences of geometry and astronomy, which form the basis of navigation; and he was well versed in cosmography, history, and philosophy. His active and enterprising genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old systems, yet would not suffer him to rest in their decisions, however sanctified by time or by venerable names; but, determined to examine them by actual experiment, he visited the seas within the polar circle,† and afterward those parts of Africa which the Portuguese had discovered, as far as the coast of Guinea; and by the time that he had attained the age of thirty-seven, he had, from his own experience, re-sea; not less in piratical expeditions or attacks upon the infidels, than in the regular operations of commerce. We have few clear traces of his conduct in these scenes, but in those few are manifested the elements of that skill, hardihood, and self-reliance which were so conspicuous in his later life.—H.]

* Life of Columbus by his son Ferdinand, chap. iv. See vol. ii. of Churchill's Collection of Voyages. Herrera's Hist. Amer., vol. i.

† [In a letter, a part of which his son has preserved, he says, "In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, which is seventy-three degrees distant from the equator." To what extent he followed the track of the Portuguese discoverers on the coast of Africa I have not been able to learn.—H.]

ceived the fullest conviction, that the opinion of the ancients respecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any just foundation.

When an old system is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to suspect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear less formidable. Such was the case with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident which threatened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ship in which he sailed took fire in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap into the sea to avoid perishing in the flames. In this extremity, Columbus, by the help of a floating oar, swam upward of two leagues to the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were settled there.*

* [There is some doubt (see Irving's Columbus, i., 11, 17, and ii., 244, note) respecting the date of the engagement mentioned in the text, and whether Columbus came to Lisbon thus by a fortunate accident. Lisbon was then the resort of the adventurous and skilful in navigation, drawn thither by the liberality of Prince Henry and the earnest projects of King John. Mr. Irving places his arrival there in 1470. His sketch of the personal appearance of Columbus at that time is interesting. "He was tall, well formed, muscular, and of an elevated and dignified demeanour. His visage was long, and neither full nor meager; his complexion fair and freckled, and inclined to rud-

At Lisbon he married the daughter* of Perestrello, an old seaman who had been concerned in the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira, from whose journals and charts he received the highest entertainment. Pursuing his inquiries in geography, and observing what slow progress the Portuguese made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect that, as the Portuguese travelled so far southward, it were no less proper to sail westward," and that it was reasonable to expect to find the desired land in that direction.

It must here be remembered that India was in part known to the ancients, and that its

dy ; his nose aquiline ; his cheek bones were rather high ; his eyes light gray, and apt to enkindle ; his whole countenance had an air of authority. His hair in his youthful days was of a light colour ; but care and trouble soon turned it gray, and at thirty years of age it was quite white. He was moderate and simple in diet and apparel, eloquent in discourse, engaging and affable with strangers, and of an amiableness and suavity in domestic life that strongly attached his household to his person." —H.]

* [She was styled Doña Felipa Moñis de Perestrello. Her father was Bartolomeo Moñis de Perestrello, "an Italian cavalier, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry, and had colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo." He was now dead, and seems to have left no estate beyond his "journals and charts." After his marriage, Columbus went to Porto Santo to reside.—H.]

rich and useful productions had for many centuries been conveyed into Europe, either by caravans through the deserts of Syria and Arabia, or by the way of the Red Sea, through Egypt, into the Mediterranean.* This lucrative commerce had been successively engrossed by the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Palmyrenes, the Arabians, the Genoese, and the Venetians. The Portuguese were then seeking it by attempting the circumnavigation of Africa ; and their expectation of finding it in that direction was grounded on ancient historical traditions, that a voyage had been formerly made by the orders of Necho, king of Egypt, from the Red Sea, round the southern part of Africa to the Straits of Hercules ; and that the same route had been traversed by Hanno the Carthaginian, by Eudoxus the Egyptian, and others. The Portuguese had consumed about half a century in making various attempts, and had advanced no farther on the western coast of Africa than just to cross the equator, when Columbus conceived his great design of finding India in the west.

The causes which led him to entertain this idea are distinguished by his son, the writer

* Robertson's India. Bruce's Travels.

of his life, into these three : “natural reason, the authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors.”

By the help of “reason” he argued in this manner : That the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere. This was known by observing the shadow of the earth in lunar eclipses. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. It had been explored to the east by some European travellers as far as Cipango or Japan, and as far westward as the Azores or Western Islands. The remaining space, though now known to be more than half, he supposed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this space were an open sea, he imagined it might be easily sailed over ; and if there were any land extending eastwardly beyond the known limits of Asia, he supposed that it must be nearer to Spain by the west than by the east. For it was then a received opinion that the continent and islands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe ; that another third part was comprehended between India and the western shore of Spain ; therefore it was concluded that the eastern part of India must be as near to Spain

as the western part. This opinion, though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very easy and practicable to discover India in the west. He hoped, also, that between Spain and India, in that direction, there might be found some islands, by the help of which, as resting-places in his voyage, he might the better pursue his main design. The probability of the existence of land in that ocean he argued, partly from the opinion of philosophers, that there was more land than sea on the surface of the globe, and partly from the necessity of a counterpoise in the west for the immense quantity of land which was known to be in the east.

Another source from which he drew his conclusion was "the authority of learned men," who had assumed the possibility of sailing from the western coast of Spain to the eastern bounds of India. Some of the ancient geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them* had affirmed that forty days were sufficient to perform this navigation. These authorities fell in with the theory which Columbus had formed; and having, as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in

* Pliny.

writing to Paul,* a learned physician of Florence, he received from him a letter of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his design, accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quisay (supposed to be the capital of China) but little more than two thousand leagues westward from Lisbon, which, in fact, is but half the distance. Thus, by arguing from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, and, to his view, easily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obstacles, which men of smaller views magnify into insuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his idea was "the testimony of mariners;" a class of men who at that time, and in that imperfect state of science, were too prone to mix fable with fact, and were often misled by appearances which they could not solve. In the sea, between Madeira and the Western Islands, pieces of carved wood and large

* [Paul or Paolo Toscanelli, an eminent native of Florence, born in 1397. He was greatly distinguished as an astronomer, geographer, and physician. He died in Florence, May, 1482.—Tiraboschi, tom. vi., lib. ii., cap. xxxviii.—H.]

joints of cane had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine-trees, a covered canoe, and two human bodies, of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans, had been found on the shores of these islands. Some navigators had affirmed that they had seen islands not more than a hundred leagues westward from the Azores. There was a tradition that, when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, seven bishops, who were exiled from their country, had built seven cities and churches on an island called Antilla,* which was supposed to be not more than two hundred leagues west of the Canaries; and it was said that a Portuguese ship had once discovered this island, but could never find it again. These stories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect upon the mind of Columbus. He believed that islands were to be found westward of the Azores and Canaries, though, according to his theory, they were at a greater distance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candour led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny respecting float-

* [Better known in modern times as the Island of the Seven Cities.—H.]

ing islands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to him by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large islands of floating ice driven from the Polar Seas to the southward, or the Fog Banks, which form many singular appearances resembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of these reports.*

* The following account of a curious deception, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, may elucidate the above observations.

“ ‘ March 4, 1748-9, at two in the afternoon, made land which bore N.E. seven leagues distant by estimation : at five tacked, being about three leagues from said island, wind E.S.E., latitude by observation $49^{\circ} 40'$, longitude $24^{\circ} 30'$ from the Lizard. This island stretches N.W. and S.E., about 5 leagues long and 9 miles wide. On the south side fine valleys and a great number of birds.

“ ‘ March 5, said island bore N. three leagues, N.W. a reef of rocks three miles. This day a ship's mast came alongside. On the south point of said island is a small marshy island.

“ ‘ A copy of my journal on board the snow St. Paul, of London, bound from South Carolina to London.

“ ‘ William Otton, Commander.

“ ‘ P.S. Captain Otton thought he saw a tent on the island, and would have gone ashore, but had unfortunately stove his boat some time before.’

“ Commodore Rodney is commissioned to go in quest of an island, which, according to the report of a master of a ship and some others, on examination before the Lords of the Admiralty, lies about 50° N. and about 300 leagues west of England. Capt. Murdock Mackenzie, an excellent mathematician, and au-

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only person of his age who had acquired these ideas of the form, dimensions, and balancing of the globe, but he was one of the few who had begun to think for themselves, and he had a genius of that kind which makes use of speculation and reasoning only as excitements to action. He was not a closet projector, but an enterprising adventurer; and, having established his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himself to the utmost to demonstrate its truth by experiment. But, deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign of the sea charts of the Orkney and Lewis Islands, attends him in the Culloden sloop to bring back an account of what discoveries he may make. As this island lies out of the track of the trade to America, it is supposed to have been missed by navigators to our colonies, *though marked in some Dutch maps*. If the commodore discovers it, he is to take possession of it by the name of Rodney's Island."

"Friday, April 10, 1752, Commodore Rodney arrived at Woolwich; he had been cruising ten days in quest of an island, and the men at the topmasthead were more than once deceived with what the sailors call fog-banks. About the 6th or 7th day the crew observed branches of trees with their leaves on, and flights of gulls, and pieces of shipwreck, which are generally regarded as certain signs of an adjacent shore, but could not discover any."—*Gent. Mag. for 1751*, p. 235; *for 1752*, p. 88, 189.

N.B. The island *marked in the Dutch maps* could not have been mistaken for this imaginary island, being but a single rock. It is the same that is described in the life of Zeno, p. 153.

foreign state, he first applied (as it is said) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as visionary.* He then proposed his plan to John II., king of Portugal, who, though a prince of good understanding and of an enterprising disposition, yet was so deeply engaged in prosecuting discoveries on the African coast, with a view to find a way to India round that continent, and had been at so vast an expense without any considerable success, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus proposed. Influ-

* This is said on the authority of Herrera, the royal Spanish historian : Ferdinando Columbus, in the life of his father, says nothing of it, but represents his application to the King of Portugal as the first, and gives this reason for it, "because he lived under him."*

* [The previous application to Genoa, though strongly affirmed, has now, we believe, been generally rejected. The circumstances of the case, apart from any conclusive historical evidence, render it probable that his first application was to the King of Portugal. Columbus was residing in his dominions, and John was eminently liberal to maritime enterprise. His proposals were more likely to be well received by him than by a republic then engaged in wars and torn by internal dissensions ; and we find no traces of so fond an attachment to his native country as would induce a prudent man to forego the advantages held out to him in the land of his residence and adoption. The precise date of this application is not known. It was undoubtedly in 1482 or 1483, as John II. ascended the throne in 1481, and Columbus left Portugal in 1484.—H.]

enced, however, by the advice of Calzadilla,* a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ship, bound to the islands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a discovery in the west ; but, through ignorance and want of enterprise, the navigators, after wandering for some time in the ocean and making no discovery, reached their destined port and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Disgusted with this base artifice, he quitted Portugal,† and went to Ferdinand, king of

* [Diego Ortiz, called Calzadilla, from the name of his native place, a man of learning, then bishop of Ceuta, and confessor to the king. He was one of a number of scientific men to whom the proposals of Columbus were referred by the king for their judgment.—H.]

† [He left Portugal near the close of the year 1484. In the fall of 1485 he entered Spain. He had left Portugal deeply in debt and to avoid an arrest. He entered Spain with his fortunes in no way improved, and with feeble hopes. The circumstances of his entrance are too singular and romantic to be omitted. One day a stranger, on foot, in humble guise, but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped at the gate of a convent of Franciscan friars, half a league from the little seaport of Palos, in Andalusia, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent, Juan de Perez Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and entered into conversation with him. That stranger was Columbus, attended by his little son Diego. The prior was a man of learning, especially in geography and nautical science. He was struck with the lofty views of Columbus, and detained him as his guest. It was now late in August, and

Spain, having previously sent his brother to England to solicit the patronage of Henry

Columbus passed the winter in this lonely retreat. The prior was charmed by his conversation and persuaded by his arguments, and continued ever after his zealous and steadfast friend. When the spring opened and his guest would be gone, the worthy prior gave him a letter to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to the queen, a man of great influence in public affairs, urging the scheme of Columbus upon his attention. Refreshed with this hope, the wanderer set forth again, to seek an audience of the confessor, and, through him, of the queen.

Talavera received him with coolness, and believed him visionary. Ferdinand and Isabella were in the midst of their wars with the Moors. The whole court was busied in military preparations and action. None had leisure to listen to the speculations of an obscure adventurer; and he who could open a new world to him who would befriend him, was fain to take his place among lackeys and the humblest servitors, that he might, perchance, in some happy hour, gain a hearing for his vast suit. Slowly did he gain here and there a friend who might at some time be of service to him. After many delays and much uncertainty, the archbishop of Toledo assented to his views, and brought him to the presence of the king. The king hesitated and was doubtful, and referred the subject to a select council of learned men, to hear, examine, and report.

The council met in 1486, in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen at Salamanca; the dignitaries of the Church, studious monks, and learned professors, to decide on the project of an obscure and solitary theorizer. They gave more heed to the fathers than to the deductions of reason, and answered an argument of science with a quotation from Lactantius. They were not ignorant, but they had not learned the different provinces of faith and reason. Some of them were convinced, but a majority could not be persuaded. The simple navigator proved himself no mean theologian, and quoted prophecy as an offset to the

VII. But, being taken by pirates and detained several years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to fathers ; but he was a stranger, with little academic lore, and could not prevail.

The court, meanwhile, was occupied with campaigns, and Columbus, still sanguine, and yet waiting for a formal decision, accompanied its movements. Day after day, and year after year, he waited in vain. Conferences of the learned were proposed and postponed ; his sovereigns were detained from him as well by victory as by war ; and four years had passed before the opinion of the council was given, that the scheme was visionary and impossible. Thus far, led on by hopes, Columbus had gained a scanty livelihood by drawing maps and charts, or had been maintained by the bounty of the queen. Leaving the court, he applied to two powerful nobles, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, with some favour, but with no success, and retired once more to the convent at Palos.

On the return of peace he was again recalled from his seclusion ; and, now that his visions of many years had ripened in his own mind to certainty, and he claimed the honours due to his discovery as if it had been already made, he endured the mortification of being again rejected, for the very pride and assurance of his conviction. Indignant and chagrined, he resolved to abandon Spain forever ; and, "having mounted his mule, sallied forth from Santa Fé early in February, 1492." He "had pursued his lonely way across the Vega, and had reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Granada, when he was overtaken by a courier from the queen, spurring in all speed, who summoned him to return to Santa Fé." He trusted once more, and this time to the promise of the queen, and was not disappointed. She had become convinced by some earnest friends of Columbus ; the expenses of the voyage had been pledged ; and he returned to reap the reward of so many years of solicitation and repulse, of suspense and despondency.—H.]

Henry till Christopher Columbus had succeeded in Spain. Before this could be accomplished he had various obstacles to surmount; and it was not till after seven years of painful solicitation that he obtained his request.

The objections made to the proposal of Columbus by the most learned men in Spain, to whom the consideration of it was referred, will give us some idea of the state of geographical science at that time. One objection was, How should he know more than all the wise men and skilful sailors who had existed since the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were possible to navigate the ocean at any great distance from the shore; but, admitting that it were navigable, they imagined that three years would be required to perform the voyage which Columbus proposed. A third was, that if a ship should sail westward on a round globe, she would necessarily go down on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return, because it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Augustine, in which he had expressed his doubt of the ex-

istence of antipodes and the possibility of going from one hemisphere to the other. As the writings of this holy father had received the sanction of the Church, to contradict him was deemed heresy.

For such reasons and by such reasoners, the proposal of Columbus was at first rejected; but, by the influence of John Perez,* a Spanish priest, and Lewis Santangel,† an officer of the king's household, Queen Isabella was persuaded to listen to his solicitation, and, after he had been twice repulsed, to recall him to court, when she offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expense of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which sum was advanced by Santangel, and the queen's jewels were saved. Thus, to the generous decision of a female mind we owe the discovery of America.

The conditions stipulated between Ferdinand and Isabella‡ on the one part, and Co-

* [Juan Perez de Marchena, already mentioned as the early and warm friend of Columbus, the worthy and learned prior of the convent at Palos.—H.]

† [Louis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon. The queen relied much on his prudence, and was moved by his earnestness. The low sum at which he put the cost of the enterprise, two vessels and three thousand crowns, may have had some weight.—H.]

‡ [The lives and characters of these joint monarchs of Spain

lumbus on the other part, were these: "That he, his heirs and successors, should hold the office of admiral in all those *islands and continents* which he should discover, that he should be viceroy and governor of the same, with power of nominating three associates, of whom their majesties should appoint one. That he should have one tenth part of the nett proceeds of all the gold and silver, precious stones, spice, and other merchandise which should be found; that he, or a deputy of his own appointing, should decide all controversies respecting the trade; that he should be at one eighth part of the expense of equip-

have been fully delineated by Mr. Prescott in his History of Ferdinand and Isabella, and by Mr. Irving in his History of Columbus. We give a sketch of their personal appearance from Irving. "Ferdinand was of the middle stature, well proportioned, and hardy and active from athletic exercise. His carriage was free, erect, and majestic. He had a clear, serene forehead, which appeared more lofty from his head being partly bald. His eyebrows were large and parted, and, like his hair, of a bright chestnut; his eyes were clear and animated; his complexion somewhat ruddy; his mouth moderate, well formed, and gracious in its expression; his teeth white, though small and irregular; his voice sharp, his speech quick and fluent. Isabella was well formed and of the middle size. Her complexion was fair, her hair auburn, inclining to red; her eyes of a clear blue; and there was a singular modesty in her countenance, gracing as it did a wonderful firmness of purpose and earnestness of spirit."—H.]

ping the first fleet, and should receive one eighth part of the profits."*

The necessary preparations being made, and a year's provision laid in, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean,† with three vessels, one of which was called a carrack,‡ and the other two caravels,§ having

* [The conditions were mutually signed April 17, 1492. The dignity and privileges of viceroy and governor were secured to his descendants, and the title of Don an hereditary prefix to their name. Having thus reached the height of his ambition, Columbus returned once more, and in triumph, to the convent at Palos, where he had passed so many days of weariness, and disappointment, and sadness.—H.]

† [This port, as is now well known, does not lie on the Mediterranean, but on the Atlantic, in the western part of Andalusia. It is now a small village of about four hundred inhabitants.—H.]

‡ [The largest, in which Columbus sailed, was called the Santa Maria. The others were named the Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the Niña, commanded by his brother, Vincente Yañez Pinzon. Without the aid of these brothers Columbus found it difficult to get any ships for the voyage, so great was the reluctance of the merchants and navigators to engage in this enterprise, even though urged by a royal order. The largest was actually impressed into the service by that order.—H.]

§ A carrack was a vessel with a deck; a caravel had none.*

* [The distinction mentioned here seems to be true, at least, of the ships of Columbus, though it has been questioned. We have the authority of Peter Martyr, a contemporary of Columbus, that, of the three vessels of his fleet, two had no decks

on board the whole ninety men.* Having passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, he arrived at the Canaries on the 12th of the same month, where he was detained in refitting one of the caravels, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he sailed westward on his voyage of discovery.

This voyage, which now is considered as an easy and pleasant run, between the latitudes of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade-wind, was then the boldest attempt which had ever been made, and filled the minds of the best seamen with apprehension. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief if any accident should befall them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the

“Two of them,” says Mr. Irving, i., 78, “were light barges, and called caravels, not superior to river and coasting craft of modern days. They are delineated (in old prints and paintings) as open, and without deck in the centre, but built up high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the accommodation of the crew.” They were thought the best on voyages of discovery, on account of their slight draught. The word caravel is commonly used to designate a small kind of craft, and often, I suppose, without reference to its having a deck or not. See note to Irving’s *Columbus*, ii., 278.—H.]

* [The crew consisted of ninety persons. The whole number on board, including several private adventurers, servants, &c., was one hundred and twenty.—H.]

air, every fish which appeared in the sea, and every weed which floated on its surface, was regarded with the most minute attention, as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been observed struck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole. They began to apprehend that their compass would prove an unfaithful guide ; and the trade-wind, which wafted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obstruct their return.

To be twenty days at sea, without sight of land, was what the boldest mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time the impatient sailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean and returning home. Their murmurs reached his ears ; but his active mind was never at a loss for expedients, even in the greatest extremity. By soothing, flattery, and artifice, by inventing reasons for every uncommon appearance, by promising rewards to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who should first discover land, in addition to what the king had ordered, and by deceiving them in the ship's reckoning,* he kept them on their

* {He kept two logbooks ; one correct, for his own use, and

course for sixteen days longer. In the night of the 11th of October he himself saw a light, which seemed to be on shore, and in the morning of the 12th they had the joyful sight of land, which proved to be the island of Guanahana, one of the cluster called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.*

Thus, in the space of thirty-six days,† and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had spent twenty years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their spirit of enterprise and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and stamped with immortality the name of Columbus.

After spending several months in sailing from one island to another in that vast archipelago, which, from the mistakes of the age, received the name of the West Indies,‡ Co- the other open to his men, in which a number of leagues were subtracted from the ship's daily distance.—H.]

* [This island was named by Columbus San Salvador, and, more recently, has been called by the English Cat Island. The original name was more properly Guanahani.—H.]

† [Reckoning from the Canaries. The age of Columbus, following the date given by Mr. Irving, must have been fifty-six or fifty-seven.—H.]

‡ [It ought to be added, to the honour of Columbus, that his treatment of the natives was uniformly humane and gentle.

lumbus returned to Spain* with the two smaller vessels (the larger having been wrecked on the island of Hispaniola), leaving behind him a colony of thirty-nine men, furnished with a year's provisions, and lodged in a fort which had been built of the timber saved from the wreck. During his passage he met with a violent tempest, which threatened him with destruction. In this extremity he gave an admirable proof of his calmness and foresight. He wrote on parchment an account of his discoveries, wrapped it in a piece of oiled cloth, and enclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask and threw into the sea. Another parchment, secured in the same manner, he placed on the stern, that, if the ship should sink, the cask might float, and possibly one or the other might be driven on shore, or taken up at sea by some future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitless. He arrived safe in Spain, in March,† 1493, and was received with the honours due to his merit.

equally politic and Christian, and in fine contrast with the savage and murderous course pursued by later adventurers.—H.]

* [He set sail from La Navidad Jan. 4th, 1493.—H.]

† [He reached the mouth of the Tagus on the fourth of the month. The brief and scanty outline of this voyage given in the text may easily be filled out from the ample mate-

The account which Columbus gave of his new discoveries,* the specimens of gold and other valuable productions, and the sight of the natives which he carried from the West Indies to Spain, were so pleasing that the court determined on another expedition.† But first it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the pope, who readily granted it; and by an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, he divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal all the new countries already discovered or to be discovered, giving the western part to the former, and the eastern to the latter. No provision, however, was made in case that they should meet, and their claims should in-

rials now before the public. The reader is particularly referred to Irving's *Columbus*, i., 79–168, the collections of Navarrette, and the *First Voyage of Columbus*, &c.—H.]

* [He still supposed himself to have touched on the eastern shore of the Continent of India. His imagination, naturally ardent, was excited by all he saw in the new regions he had opened to the world, and still more by the vague accounts he had received from the natives. He fully believed, and honestly reported, that he had found the region of spices, of gold, and of pearls.—H.]

† [The journey of Columbus from Seville to Barcelona, where the court then was, has been likened to a royal progress, and his entrance into Barcelona to a triumph, so great was the joy universally felt for his discoveries, and so great the honour his sovereign and the nobles were now disposed to pay him. The

terfere on the opposite side of the globe. The bull containing this famous but imperfect line of demarcation was signed by Alexander VI.* on the second day of May, 1493; and on the 28th of the same month, the king and queen of Spain, by a written instrument, explained and confirmed the privileges and powers which they had before granted to Columbus, making the office of viceroy and governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. On the 25th of September following he sailed from Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen ships, great and small, well furnished with all necessaries for the voyage, and having on board 1500 people, with horses, cattle, and implements, to establish plantations.†

second voyage was determined on before he left Seville, and the arrangements for it already begun. To secure regularity in all affairs touching the Indies, a superintendent was appointed by the crown, with a treasurer and comptroller; and, to provide for the expenses of the new expedition, a large portion of the church tithes were appropriated, and the property of a multitude of exiled Jews confiscated.—H.]

* [Alexander VI. was by birth a Spaniard. The bull defining the line between the future possessions of Spain and Portugal was issued on the third of May: one had already been granted on the second, giving to the Spaniards the same rights in the lands discovered by them which had been previously given to the Portuguese.—*Irving*, i., 187. The grant was made on the condition of planting in them the Catholic faith.—H.]

† [There was this time, no lack of adventurers. The covet-

On Sunday, the third of November, he discovered an island, to which, in honour of the day, he gave the name of Dominica.* Afterward he discovered in succession other islands, which he called Marigalante, Guadalupe, Montserrat, Redonda, Antigua, St. Martin's, St. Ursula, and St. John. On the 12th of November he came to Navidad,† on the north side of Hispaniola, where he had built his fort and left his colony ; but he had the mortification to find that the people were all dead, and that the fort had been destroyed.

The account given by the natives of the loss of the colony was, that they fell into discord among themselves on the usual subjects of controversy, women and gold ; that, having provoked a chief, whose name was Canaubo, he came against them with a superior force, and destroyed them ; that some of the natives, in attempting to defend them, had been killed, and others were then ill of their

ous and the heroic, soldiers and priests, gentlemen and nobles, all were eager to embark in an enterprise in which gain or fame was to be won.—H.]

* [From having discovered it on Sunday, *Dies Dominica*, i. e., the Lord's Day.—H.]

† [Nov. 14 he discovered Santa Cruz ; still later, an island which he called St. Juan Bautista, now called Porto Rico, and cast anchor off La Navidad on the 27th.—*Irving*, i., 217.—H.]

wounds, which, on inspection, appeared to have been made with Indian weapons.

Columbus prudently forbore to make any critical inquiry into the matter, but hasted to establish another colony, in a more eligible situation, to the eastward, which he called Isabella, after his royal patroness. He had many difficulties to contend with besides those which unavoidably attend undertakings of such novelty and magnitude. Nature, indeed, was bountiful: the soil and climate produced vegetation with a rapidity to which the Spaniards had not been accustomed. From wheat sown at the end of January, full ears were gathered at the end of March. The stones of fruit, the slips of vines, and the joints of sugarcane sprouted in seven days, and many other seeds in half the time. This was an encouraging prospect; but the slow operations of agriculture did not meet the views of sanguine adventurers. The numerous followers of Columbus, some of whom were of the best families in Spain, had conceived hopes of suddenly enriching themselves by the precious metals of those new regions, and were not disposed to listen to his recommendations of patience and industry in cultivating the earth. The natives were

displeased with the licentiousness of their new neighbours, who endeavoured to keep them in awe by a display of force. The explosion of firearms, and the sight of men mounted on horses, were at first objects of terror; but use had rendered them less formidable. Columbus, overburdened with care and fatigue, fell sick, and at his recovery found a mutiny among his men, which, by a due mixture of resolution and lenity, he had the address to quell. He then endeavoured to establish discipline among his own people, and to employ the natives in cutting roads through the woods. While he was present and able to attend to business, things went on so prosperously that he thought he might safely proceed on his discoveries.

In his former voyage he had visited Cuba, but was uncertain whether it were an island or a part of some continent. He therefore passed over to its eastern extremity, and coasted its southern side till he found himself entangled among a vast number of small islands, which, for their beauty and fertility, he called the Garden of the Queen; but the dangerous rocks and shoals which surrounded them obliged him to stretch farther to the southward, by which means he discovered the

island of Jamaica, where he found water and other refreshments for his men, who were almost dead with famine. The hazard, fatigue, and distress of this voyage threw him into a lethargic disorder, from which he had just recovered, when he returned to his colony and found it all in confusion, from the same causes which had proved destructive to the first.

In his absence, the licentiousness of the Spaniards had provoked several of the chiefs, four of whom had united to destroy them, and had actually commenced hostilities, in which twenty Spaniards were killed. Columbus collected his people, put them into the best order, and, by a judicious combination of force and stratagem, gained a decisive victory, to which the horses and dogs did not a little contribute.

At his return to Hispaniola he had the pleasure of meeting his brother Bartholomew,* whom he had not seen for several

* [He was a man of great merit, whose deserts have been overshadowed by the singular renown of the admiral. He was a man of hardly inferior science, of great experience as a navigator, prompt, sagacious, and intrepid. Less imaginative, perhaps, and enthusiastic than his brother, he had more worldly wisdom, and more skill in ruling the turbulent and factious spirits who tortured the more gentle temper of the admiral. He

years, and whom he supposed to have been dead. Bartholomew was a man of equal knowledge, experience, bravery, and prudence with himself. His patience had endured a severe trial in their long separation. He had many obstacles to surmount before he could get to England and obtain access to the king. He was at Paris when he heard of the success of his brother's first enterprise, who had gone on the second before Bartholomew could get to Spain. On his arrival there, and being introduced to the court, he was appointed to the command of three ships, which were destined to convey supplies to the colony ; and he arrived while Christopher was absent on his voyage to Cuba and Jamaica. Columbus appointed his brother to command at Isabella, while he went into the interior part of the island to perfect his conquest, and reduce the natives to subjection and tribute.

The Indians were so unused to collect gold-dust in such quantities as their conquerors demanded it, that they offered to plant

was generous and affable, though often abrupt and severe ; tall, muscular, and vigorous in person, of a grave and stern aspect. Patient in labour, cheerful in danger, and resolute in command, he was as a right hand to his brother.—H.]

the immense plains of Hispaniola, and pay an equivalent in corn. Columbus was struck with the magnanimity of the proposal, and, in consequence, moderated the tribute. This did not satisfy the avarice of his fellow-adventurers, who found means to complain of him to the king's ministers for his negligence in acquiring the only commodity which they thought deserved the name of riches. The Indians then desisted from planting their usual quantity of corn, and attempted to subsist chiefly on animal food. This experiment proved injurious to themselves as well as to their conquerors; and it was computed that, within four years from the first discovery of the island, one third part of its inhabitants perished.

The complaints against Columbus so wrought on the jealous mind of King Ferdinand, that John Aguado,* who was sent, in 1495, with supplies to the colony, had orders to act as a spy on his conduct. This man behaved with so little discretion as to seek matter of accusation, and give out threats

* [A weak, vain man, who had before received great favours from Columbus. His commission was merely one of inquiry, but he claimed the right to interfere in and control the affairs of the colony.—H.]

against the admiral. At the same time, the ships which he commanded being destroyed by a hurricane, he had no means to return, till Columbus, knowing that he had enemies at home, and nothing to support him but his own merit, resolved to go to Spain with two caravels; himself in one, and Aguado in the other. Having appointed proper persons to command the several forts—his brother Bartholomew to superintend the whole, and his brother James* to be next in authority—he set sail on the tenth of March, 1496, and, after a perilous and tedious voyage in the tropical latitudes, arrived in Cadiz on the eleventh of June.

His presence at court, with the gold and other valuable articles which he carried home, removed, in some measure, the prejudices which had been excited against him. But his enemies, though silent, were not idle; and in a court where phlegm and languor proved a clog to the spirit of enterprise, they found it not difficult to obstruct his views, which, notwithstanding all discouragements, were still pointed to the discovery of a way to India by the west.

* [Better known by his Spanish name Diego. He was far inferior to his brothers in talents and energy.—H.]

He now demanded eight ships to carry supplies to his colony, and six to go on discovery. These demands were complied with, and he began his third voyage on the thirtieth of May, 1498. He kept a course so far to the southward, that not only his men, but his provisions and water, suffered greatly from excessive heat. The first land he made after leaving the Isles of Cape de Verd was a large island which he named Trinidad, from its appearance in the form of three mountains. He then passed through a narrow strait and whirlpool into the Gulf of Paria, where, observing the tide to be rapid and the water brackish, he conjectured that the land on the western and southern sides of the gulf was part of a continent, and that the fresh water proceeded from some great rivers.

The people on the coast of Paria were whiter than those of the islands. They had about their necks plates of gold and strings of pearl, which they readily exchanged for pieces of tin and brass, and little bells; and when they were questioned whence they obtained the gold and pearls, they pointed to the west.

The admiral's provisions not allowing him to stay long in this place, he passed again

through that dangerous strait, to which he gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and having satisfied himself that the land on his left was a continent, he steered to the N.W., discovering Margarita and several other islands in his course; and on the thirtieth of August arrived at the harbour of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, to which place his brother had removed the colony in his absence, in consequence of a plan preconcerted between them.

Wearied with incessant care and watching in this dangerous voyage, he hoped now to enjoy repose; instead of which, he found his colony much reduced by deaths, many of the survivors sick with a disease, the peculiar consequence of their debauchery, and a large number of them in actual rebellion. They had formed themselves into a body; they had gained over many of the Indians, under pretence of protecting them; and they had retired to a distant part of the island, which proved a resort for the seditious and discontented. Their commander was Francis Roldan,* who had been chief-justice of the colo-

* [Francisco Roldan was one of those vipers, too many of which crossed the path of Columbus, who stung their benefactor. Columbus had raised him from poverty and obscurity, and, ob-

ny; and their number was so considerable that Columbus could not command a force sufficient to subdue them. He therefore entered into a negotiation, by offering a pardon to those who would submit, and liberty of returning to Spain to those who desired it. These offers, however impolitic, proved successful. Roldan himself accepted them, and persuaded others to do the same; then, being restored to his office, he tried and condemned the refractory, some of whom were put to death.

An account of this mutiny was sent home to Spain by Columbus, and another by Roldan. Each had his advocates at court, and the cause was heard by the king and queen. Roldan and his men were accused of adultery, perjury, robbery, murder, and disturbing the peace of the whole island; while Columbus, serving his strong sense, had made him a justice of the peace, and on his own return to Spain appointed him chief-justice of the colony. He had now only to supplant Bartholomew Columbus, left governor in his absence, to become the chief man in the colony; and such was the meanness of his treacherous ambition, that he scrupled at no means to gratify it. He conspired with the dissolute and mutinous to assassinate the governor, and was prevented from doing it only by an accident; and having been defeated in this plan, he withdrew, with his party in a formal opposition to the government, till the return of the admiral.—H.]

bus was charged with cruelty to individuals, aiming at independence, and engrossing the tribute. It was insinuated that, not being a native of Spain, he had no proper respect for the noble families who had become adventurers, and that the debts due to them could not be recovered. It was suggested that, if some remedy were not speedily applied, there was danger that he would revolt, and join with some other prince ; and that, to compass this design, he had concealed the real wealth of the colony, and prevented the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith.

These insinuations prevailed on the jealousy of Ferdinand, and even staggered the constancy of Isabella. They resolved to appoint a judge, who should examine facts on the spot ; and, if he should find the admiral guilty, to supersede him. For this purpose they sent Francis Bovadilla,* a man of noble rank, but whose poverty alone recommended him to the office. Furnished with these powers, he arrived at St. Domingo when Columbus was absent ; took lodgings in his house ;

* [“ Don Francisco de Bobadilla, an officer of the royal household, and a commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava.” He is represented as “ needy, passionate, and ambitious.”—*Irving*, ii., 41. He arrived at San Domingo Aug. 23, 1500.—H.]

invited accusers to appear against him ; seized on his effects ; and finally sent him and both his brothers to Spain, in three different ships, but all loaded with irons.

The master of the ship in which the admiral sailed had so much respect for him, that, when he had got to sea, he offered to take off his fetters ; but Columbus nobly declared that he would permit that honour to be done him by none but his sovereign. In this humiliating confinement he was delivered to Fonseca,* bishop of Bajados, who had been the chief instigator of all these rigorous proceedings, and to whom had been committed the affairs of the Indies.

Not content with robbing Columbus of his liberty, this prejudiced ecclesiastic would have deprived him of his well-earned reputation of having first discovered the new continent. With the accusations which Columbus had

* [Juan Rodrigues de Fonseca was a man of great abilities, but of a selfish and intriguing spirit. He was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in 1493, and afterward became Patriarch of the Indies. He was continued in office under the Emperor Charles V. In the use of his power he was treacherous and malignant ; and having, for some slight cause, conceived an enmity to Columbus, persecuted him with unceasing rancour. His whole administration was marked with acts of meanness and perfidy. He died at Burgos in 1524.—H.]

sent home against Roldan, he had transmitted an account of the discovery of the coast of Paria, which he justly supposed to be part of a continent. Ojeda,* an active officer, who had sailed with Columbus in his second voyage, was at court when these despatches arrived, and saw the draught of the discovery, with the specimens of gold and pearls, which the admiral had sent home. Being a favourite of Fonseca, he easily obtained leave to pursue the discovery. Some merchants of Seville were prevailed upon to equip four ships, with which, in 1499, Ojeda followed the track of Columbus, and made land on the coast of Paria. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, well skilled in geography and navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage; and, by publishing the first book and chart describing the new world, obtained the honour of having it called AMERICA. This, however, did not happen till after the death of Columbus. Several other adventurers followed the same track, and all supposed that the continent which they had seen was part of India.

As soon as it was known that Columbus

* [For a brief notice of this remarkable man, see the Chronological Detail, p. 60.—H.]

was arrived at Cadiz (Nov. 5, 1500) in the disgraceful situation above mentioned, the king and queen, ashamed of the orders which they had given, commanded him to be released, and invited him to court, where they apologized for the misbehaviour of their new governor, and not only promised to recall him, but to restore to the admiral all his effects. Columbus could not forget the ignominy. He preserved the fetters, hung them up in his apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave.

Instead of reinstating him in his government according to the original contract, the king and queen sent Ovando* to Hispaniola to supersede Bovadilla, and only indulged Columbus in pursuing his darling project, the discovery of India by the west, which he still hoped to accomplish. He sailed again from Cadiz on the fourth of May, 1502, with four vessels, carrying one hundred and forty men and boys, of which number were his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, the writer of his life.

* [Don Nicholas de Ovando, grand commander of the Order of Alcantara, a man of ability and prudence, yet ambitious. He was cruel to Columbus, and guilty of the vilest treachery and inhumanity in his treatment of the Indians.—H.]

In his passage to the Caribbee Islands he found his largest vessel, of seventy tons, unfit for the service, and therefore went to St. Domingo, in hope of exchanging it for a better, and to seek shelter from a storm which he saw approaching. To his infinite surprise and mortification, Ovando would not admit him into the port. A fleet of thirty ships was then ready to sail for Spain, on board of which Roldan and Bovadilla were prisoners. Columbus informed Ovando of the prognostics which he had observed, which Ovando disregarded, and the fleet sailed. Columbus then laid three of his vessels under the lee of the shore, and with great difficulty rode out the tempest. His brother put to sea, and by his great naval skill saved the ship in which he sailed. Of the fleet bound to Spain, eighteen ships were lost, and in them perished Roldan and Bovadilla.

The enemies of Columbus gave out that he had raised this storm by the art of magic; and such was the ignorance of the age that the story was believed. What contributed the more to its credit was, that one of the worst ships of the fleet, on board of which were all the effects which had been saved from the ruined fortune of Columbus, was the first which arrived in Spain. The amount of

these effects was "four thousand pesos of gold, each of the value of eight shillings." The remark which Ferdinando Columbus makes on this event, so destructive to the accusers of his father, is, "I am satisfied it was the hand of God, who was pleased to infatuate them, that they might not hearken to good advice; for, had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished as their crimes deserved, but rather favoured and preferred, as being the bishop's friends."*

After this storm, and another which followed it, Columbus, having collected his little squadron, sailed on discovery towards the continent; and, steering to the southwest, came to an island called Guanania, twelve leagues from the coast of Honduras, where he met with a large covered canoe, having on board several pieces of cotton cloth of divers colours, which the people said they had brought from the westward. The men were armed with swords of wood, in which sharp flints were strongly fixed. Their provision was maize and roots, and they used the berries of cocoa as money. When the admiral inquired for gold, they pointed to the west; and when he asked for a strait by which he

might pass through the land, they pointed to the east. From the specimens of coloured cloth, he imagined that they had come from India, and he hoped to pass thither by the strait which they described. Pursuing his course to the east and south, he was led to the Gulf of Darien, and visited several harbours, among which was one which he called Porto Bello; but he found no passage extending through the land. He then returned to the westward, and landed on the coast of Veragua, where the beauty and fertility of the country invited him to begin a plantation, which he called Belem; but the natives, a fierce and formidable race, deprived him of the honour of first establishing a colony on the continent, by killing some of his people, and obliging him to retire with the others.

At sea he met with tempestuous weather of long continuance, in which his ships were so shattered, that, with the utmost difficulty, he kept them above water till he ran them ashore on the island of Jamaica. By his extraordinary address he procured from the natives two of their largest canoes, in which two of his most faithful friends, Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by some of his sailors and a few Indians, embarked for Hispaniola. After encountering the greatest difficulties in

their passage, they carried tidings of his misfortune to Ovando, and solicited his aid. The merciless wretch detained them eight months without an answer, during which time Columbus suffered the severest hardships, from the discontent of his company and the want of provisions. By the hospitality of the natives he at first received such supplies as they were able to spare ; but the long continuance of these guests had diminished their store, and the insolence of the mutineers gave a check to their friendship. In this extremity, the fertile invention of Columbus suggested an expedient which proved successful. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was at hand, which would be visible in the evening. On the preceding day he sent for the principal Indians, to speak with them on a matter of the utmost importance. Being assembled, he directed his interpreter to tell them that the God of Heaven, whom he worshipped, was angry with them for withholding provision from him, and would punish them with famine and pestilence ; as a token of which, the moon would in the evening appear of an angry and bloody colour. Some of them received his speech with terror, and others with indifference ; but when the moon rose, and the eclipse increased as

she advanced from the horizon, they came in crowds, loaded with provision, and begged the admiral to intercede with his God for the removal of his anger. Columbus retired to his cabin; and when the eclipse began to go off, he came out and told them that he had prayed to his God, and had received this answer: that if they would be good for the future, and bring him provision as he should want, God would forgive them; and, as a token of it, the moon would put on her usual brightness. They gave him thanks, and promised compliance; and while he remained on the island there was no more want of provision.

At the end of eight months Ovando sent a small vessel to Jamaica, with a cask of wine, two fitches of bacon, and a letter of compliment and excuse, which the officer delivered, and, without waiting for an answer, weighed his anchor the same evening and sailed back to Hispaniola. The men who adhered to Columbus, and were with him on board the wrecks, wondered at the sudden departure of the vessel by which they expected deliverance. Columbus, never at a loss for an evasion, told them that the caravel was too small to take the whole company, and he would not go without them. This fiction had the desired effect; those who ad-

hered to him resumed their patience, but the mutineers became so insolent that it was necessary to subdue them by force. In the contest ten of them were killed. Porras, their leader, was made prisoner, and the others escaped. Bartholomew Columbus and two others of the admiral's party were wounded, of whom one died.

The fugitives, having lost their leader, thought it best to submit; and on the next day sent a petition to the admiral, confessing their fault, and promising fidelity. This promise they confirmed by an oath, of which the imprecation was singular; "they renounced, in case of failure, any absolution from priest, bishop, or pope at the time of their death, and all benefit from the sacraments of the Church, consenting to be buried like heathens and infidels in the open field." The admiral received their submission, provided that Porras should continue prisoner, and they would accept a commander of his appointment as long as they should remain on the island.

At length a vessel, which Mendez had been permitted to buy, with the admiral's money, at Hispaniola, came to Jamaica and took them off. On their arrival at St. Domingo (August 13, 1504) Ovando affected

great joy, and treated the admiral with a show of respect; but he liberated Porras, and threatened with punishment the faithful adherents of Columbus. As soon as the vessel was refitted, the admiral took leave of his treacherous host, and, with his brother, son, and servants, embarked for Spain. After a long and distressing voyage, in which the ship lost her masts, he arrived at St. Lucar in May, 1505.*

His patroness Isabella had been dead about a year, and with her had expired all the favour which he ever enjoyed in the court of Ferdinand. Worn out with sickness and fatigue, disgusted with the insincerity of his sovereign and the haughtiness of the courtiers, Columbus lingered out a year in fruitless solicitation for his violated rights,† till death relieved him from all his vexations.

* [His arrival was in November 7th, 1504.—*Irving*, ii., 183—H.]

† [So poor was he, that he wrote, "If I desire to eat or sleep, I have no resort but an inn, and for the most times have not wherewithal to pay my bill." Yet most earnestly of all did he claim the restoration of his honours and titles, and the perpetuation of them in his family. "These things," said he, "affect my honour." He claimed only bare justice, the performance of promises long ago sealed with the royal seal. The warm heart of Isabella had ceased to beat, and Ferdinand could courteously evade what he intended to deny.—H.]

He died at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age,* and was buried in the Cathedral of Seville,† with this inscription on his tomb :

*A Castilla y a Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.*

Translated thus :

To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a new World.

In the life of this remarkable man there is no deficiency of any quality which can constitute a truly great character.‡ His genius was penetrating and his judgment solid. He had acquired as much knowledge of the sciences as could be obtained at that day, and he corrected what he had learned by his

* [More truly, according to Mr. Irving, "about seventy years of age."—H.]

† ["His remains, first deposited in the convent of St. Francis at Valladolid, were, six years later, removed to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville. From this spot his body was transported, in the year 1536, to the island of St. Domingo, the proper theatre of his discoveries; and, on the cession of that island to the French in 1795, was again removed to Cuba, where his ashes now quietly repose in the cathedral church of its capital."—*Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, iii., 241, 242.—H.]

‡ Some of these observations are taken from Dr. Campbell's account of European settlements in America, vol. i., chap. viii. [See also *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii., 115, note.—H.]

own observations. His constancy and patience were equal to the most hazardous undertakings. His fortitude surmounted many difficulties, and his invention extricated him out of many perplexities. His prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his own infirmities, while he took advantage of the passions of others, adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing or acting with vigour, as the occasion required.*

* ["A peculiar trait in his rich and varied character," says Mr. Irving, "was that ardent and enthusiastic imagination, which threw a magnificence over his whole course of thought. Herrera intimates that he had a talent for poetry, and some slight traces of it are on record, in the book of prophecies which he presented to the Catholic sovereigns. But his poetical temperament is discernible throughout all his writings and in all his actions. It spread a golden and glorious world around him, and tinged everything with its own gorgeous colours. It betrayed him into visionary speculations. It exalted his office in his eyes, and made him conceive himself an agent sent forth upon a sublime and awful mission, subject to impulses and supernatural intimations from the Deity." Closely connected with this quality was one which we might not expect to find in a hardy seaman, and which yet was strong in him, a clear perception and hearty love of the beauties of nature; a quality which everywhere discloses itself in his simple narrative of the novel beauties of the New World.

We cannot omit to speak of his self-reliance. He trusted in the truth of his own convictions, when he trusted in them alone. He frankly and boldly avowed them, when the avowal cost him at once scorn and neglect. He held them fast when the wise men of his day had deliberately scouted them. They were his

His fidelity to the ungrateful prince whom he served, and whose dominions he enlarged, must render him forever conspicuous as an example of justice ; and his attachment to the queen, by whose influence he was raised and supported, will always be a monument of his gratitude.

To his other excellent qualities may be added his piety.* He always entertained, treasure in the deepest poverty, and his hope when princes had despised and friends had forsaken him. They bore him up in every privation and distress, and made the simple mariner eloquent in the halls of the learned and the courts of kings ; and yet he had no adequate, not even a true apprehension of the value of those great truths to which he clung so steadfastly.

Columbus was an ambitious man, yet with an honourable ambition. He sought not so much wealth as honour ; and that not merely of scientific discovery, but of social rank, and not for himself only, but for his posterity. He would gain a place among the proud nobles of Spain which none of them should despise, and a title which should always point to his own merits as the source of his greatness. In his will he ordered that his heir should write for his signature only "The Admiral," whatever other titles the king might confer on him.

That he had faults need not be denied. That he sympathized with many erroneous opinions and practices of his age is not to be wondered at. But there was in him nothing sordid, mean, or revengeful. His faults were rather weaknesses ; too much patience, too much forbearance with his enemies, too high-minded a confidence in the power of innocence and in the honour of princes. He was impetuous, but not rash ; sensitive, but not passionate ; deeply wronged, and forgiving like a Christian.—H.]

* [The peculiar character of his piety cannot be better de-

and on proper occasions expressed, a reverence for the Deity, and a firm confidence in his care and protection. In his declining days the consolations of religion were his chief support; and his last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The persecution and injustice which he suffered may be traced up to the contract which he insisted on before he engaged in the plan of discovery. That a foreigner should attain so high a rank as to be viceroy for life, and that the honour of an admiral

scribed than it has been by Mr. Irving. "He was devoutly pious; religion mingled with the whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shone forth in all his most private and unstudied writings. Whenever he made any great discovery, he celebrated it by solemn thanks to God. The voice of prayer and the melody of praise rose from his ships when they first beheld the New World, and his first action upon landing was to prostrate himself upon the earth, and render up thanksgivings. Every evening the *Salve Regina* and other vesper hymns were chanted by his crew, and masses celebrated in the beautiful groves that bordered the wild shores of this heathen land. His language was pure and guarded, free from all oaths, imprecations, and other irreverent expressions. All his great enterprises were undertaken 'in the name of the Holy Trinity.' He observed the festivals of the Church in the wildest situations. The Sabbath was with him a day of rest, on which he would never set sail from a port unless in a case of extreme necessity. He was a firm believer in the efficacy of vows, and penances, and pilgrimages, and resorted to them in times of difficulty and danger."—H.]

should be hereditary in his family, to the exclusion of all the nobles of Spain, was more than their pride and jealousy could endure ; and they constantly endeavoured to depreciate his merit, the only foundation on which his honours were erected.

There is a story recorded by Peter Martyr,* a contemporary historian, which exemplifies their malice, and his ingenuity in rising superior to it. After the death of the queen,† the nobility affected to insinuate that his discoveries were more the result of accident and good fortune than of any well-concerted measures. One day, at a public dinner, Columbus having borne much insulting raillery on that head, at length called for an egg, and asked whether any of them could set it up-

* [Peter Martyr was born at Anghiera, near Milan, Feb. 2d, 1455. Having become eminent for his learning, he was invited by Isabella to educate the young nobles in her service, and was sent by Ferdinand, in 1501, as his ambassador to Venice and to Egypt. He was afterward appointed a minister of the council of the Indies. He wrote the "*Decades of the New World*" (*De Orbe Novo*), an account of the discoveries made there ; a work of peculiar value. He had ample and authentic materials for the purpose, and gained much information from Columbus himself. He died at Valladolid in 1626.—H.]

† [In Mr. Irving's history this anecdote is told as having occurred soon after Columbus's first voyage and before the second, and, of course, some time before the death of the queen, who died Nov. 26., 1504.—H.]

right on its little end. They all confessed it to be impossible. Columbus, striking it gently, flatted the shell till it stood upright on the table. The company, with a disdainful sneer, cried out, "Anybody might have done it." "Yes," said Columbus, "but none of you thought of it; so I discovered the Indies, and now every pilot can steer the same course. Many things appear easy when once performed, though before they were thought impossible. Remember the scoffs that were thrown at me before I put my design into execution. Then it was a dream, a chimera, a delusion; now it is what anybody might have done as well as I." When this story was told to Ferdinand, he could not but admire the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he was endeavouring to depress.

Writers of different countries have treated the character of Columbus according to their prejudices, either national or personal. It is surprising to observe how these prejudices have descended, and that, even at the distance of three centuries, there are some who affect to deny him the virtues for which he was conspicuous, and the merit of originating a discovery which is an honour to human reason. His humanity has been called in question

because he carried dogs to the West Indies; and employed them in extirpating the natives. The truth is, that in his second expedition he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the best families in Spain, and many more would have gone if it had been possible to accommodate them. These gentlemen carried with them "horses, asses, and other beasts, which were of great use in a new plantation." The conflict which Columbus had with the natives was in consequence of the disorderly conduct of these Spaniards, who, in his absence, had taken their goods, abused their women, and committed other outrages, which the Indians could not endure, and therefore made war upon them. In this war he found his colony engaged when he returned from his voyage to Cuba, and there was no way to end it but by pursuing it with vigour. With two hundred Spaniards, of whom *twenty* were mounted on "horses, followed by *as many* dogs," he encountered a numerous body of Indians, estimated at one hundred thousand, on a large plain. He divided his men into two parties, and attacked them on two sides; the noise of the firearms soon dispersed them, and the horses and dogs prevented them from rallying; and thus a com-

plete victory was obtained. In this instance alone were the dogs used against the natives. They naturally followed their masters into the field, and the horses to which they were accustomed ; but to suppose that Columbus transported them to the West Indies with a view to destroy the Indians, appears altogether idle when it is considered that the number is reckoned only at twenty. Excepting in this instance, where he was driven by necessity, there is no evidence that he made war on the natives of the West Indies ; on the contrary, he endeavoured as far as possible to treat them with justice and gentleness. The same cannot be said of those who succeeded him.

Attempts have also been made to detract from his merit as an original discoverer of the New World. The most successful candidate who has been set up as a rival to him is MARTIN BEHAIM,* of Nuremberg, in Germany. His claim to a prior discovery has been so

* [He was born about 1430, was in early life a merchant, and came to Portugal about 1481. He accompanied Cam, in the voyages mentioned below, as journalist and cosmographer. The date of his death is not certain, though it was later than 1506. He has the credit of first applying the astrolabe to the uses of navigation, an instrument from which, with some modifications, has been derived the modern quadrant.—H.]

well contested, and the vanity of it so fully exposed by the late Dr. Robertson, that I should not have thought of adding anything to what he has written, had not a memoir appeared in the second volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* at Philadelphia, in which the pretensions of Behaim are revived by M. Otto, who has produced some authorities which he had obtained from Nuremberg, an imperial city of Germany, and which appear to him "to establish in the clearest manner a discovery of America anterior to that of Columbus."

It is conceded that Behaim was a man of learning and enterprise; that he was contemporary with Columbus, and was his friend; that he pursued the same studies and drew the same conclusions; that he was employed by King John II. in making discoveries, and that he met with deserved honour for the important services which he rendered to the crown of Portugal. But there are such difficulties attending the story of his discovering America as appear to me insuperable. These I shall state, together with some remarks on the authorities produced by M. Otto.

The first of his authorities contains several

* No. 35, p. 263.

assertions which are contradicted by other histories :* 1. That Isabella, daughter of John, king of Portugal, reigned after the death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good. 2. That to this lady, when regent of the duchy of Burgundy and Flanders, Behaim paid a visit in 1459. And, 3. That, having informed her of his designs, he procured a vessel, in which he made the discovery of the island of Fayal in 1460.

It is true that Philip, duke of Burgundy and Flanders, surnamed the Good, married Isabella, the daughter of John I., king of Portugal ; but Philip did not die till 1467, and was immediately succeeded by his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, then thirty-four years of age. There could therefore have been no interregnum nor female regent after the death of Philip ; and, if there had been, the time of Behaim's visit will not correspond with it, that being placed in 1459, eight years before the death of Philip. Such a mistake, in point of fact and of chronology, is sufficient to induce a suspicion that the " archives of Nuremberg " are too deficient in accuracy to be depended on as authorities.

* *Memoirs of Philip de Comines.* Mezeray's and Henault's *History of France.* Collier's Dictionary.

With respect to the discovery of Fayal in 1460, M. Otto acknowledges that it is "contrary to the received opinion;" and well he might; for the first of the Azores, St. Maria, was discovered in 1431; the second, St. Michael, in 1444; the third, Terceira, in 1445; and before 1449, the islands St. George, Graciosa, Fayal, and Pico were known to the Portuguese.* However true it may be that Behaim settled in the island of Fayal, and lived there twenty years, yet his claim to the discovery of it must have a better foundation than the "archives of Nuremberg" before it can be admitted.

The genuine account of the settlement of Fayal, and the interest which Behaim had in it, is thus related by Dr. Forster, a German author of much learning and good credit.

"After the death of the infant Don Henry [which happened in 1463], the island of Fayal was made a present of by [his sister] Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, to Jobst von Hurter, a native of Nuremberg. Hurter went in 1466, with a colony of more than 2000 Flemings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The duchess had provided the Flemish emi-

* Forster's *History of Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 256, 257, Dublin edition.

grants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony soon increased. About the year 1486 Martin Behaim married a daughter of the Chevalier Jobst von Hurter, and had a son by her named Martin. Jobst von Hurter and Martin Behaim, both natives of Nuremberg, were lords of Fayal and Pico.”*

The date of the supposed discovery of America by Behaim is placed by M. Otto in 1484, eight years before the celebrated voyage of Columbus. In the same year we are told† that Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva was driven by a storm to the westward for twenty-nine days, and saw an island, of which, at his return, he gave information to Columbus. From both these supposed discoveries this conclusion is drawn, “that Columbus would never have thought of this expedition to America had not Behaim gone there before him.” Whether it be supposed that Behaim and Sanchez sailed in the same ship, or that they made a discovery of two different parts of America in the same year, it is not easy to understand from the authorities produced; but what destroys the credibility of this plau-

* Forster's History of Voyages and Discoveries, p. 257-259.

† Garcilasso de la Vega's Commentaries—Preface. Purchas, vol. v., p. 1454.

sible tale is, that Columbus had formed his theory and projected his voyage at least ten years before, as appears by his correspondence with Paul, a learned physician of Florence, which bears date in 1474.* It is uncertain at what time Columbus first made his application to the King of Portugal to fit him out for a Western voyage, but it is certain that, after a negotiation with him on the subject, and after he had found out the secret and unsuccessful attempt which had been made to anticipate a discovery, he quitted that kingdom in disgust, and went into Spain in the latter end of the year 1484. The authority of these facts is unquestioned; and from them it fully appears that a prior discovery of America by Behaim or Sanchez, made in 1484, could not have been the foundation of the enterprise of Columbus.

M. Otto speaks of letters written by Behaim in 1486, in the German language, and preserved in the "archives of Nuremberg," which support this claim to a prior discovery. As these letters are not produced, no certain opinion can be formed concerning them; but, from the date of the letters, and from the voyages which Behaim actually performed in

* Life, ch. viii.

the two preceding years, we may, with great probability, suppose that they related to the discovery of Congo, in Africa, to which Behaim has an uncontroverted claim.

I will now state the facts relative to this event, partly from the authorities cited by M. Otto, and partly from others.

Dr. Robertson places the discovery of Congo and Benin in 1483, and with him Dr. Forster agrees. The authors of the modern Universal History* speak of two voyages to that coast, the first in 1484, the second in 1485, both of which were made by Diego Cam,† who is said to have been one of the most expert sailors, and of an enterprising genius. From the chronicle of Hartman Schedl, as quoted by M. Otto, we are informed that Behaim sailed with Cam in these voyages, which are described in the following terms: "These two, by the bounty of Heaven, coasting along the Southern Ocean, and, having crossed the equator, got into the other hemisphere, where, *facing to the eastward*, their shadows projected towards the south,

* Vol. xvi., p. 133, 135.

† Diego is the Spanish name of James, in Latin Jacobus, and in Portuguese Jago. Cam is in Latin Camus or Canus, and in Spanish Cano; these different names are found in different authors.

and right hand." No words could be more completely descriptive of a voyage from Portugal to Congo, as any person may be satisfied by inspecting a map of Africa; but how could M. Otto imagine that the discovery of America was accomplished in such a voyage as this? "Having finished this cruise," continues Schedl, "in the space of twenty-six months, they returned to Portugal with the loss of many of their seamen by the violence of the climate." This latter circumstance also agrees very well with the climate of the African coast;* but Schedl says not a word of the discovery of America.

M. Otto goes on to tell us "that the most positive proof of the great services rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behaim is the recompense bestowed on him by King John II., who, in the most solemn manner, knighted him in the presence of all his court." Then follows a particular detail of the ceremony of installation, as performed on the 18th of February, 1485; and M. Otto fairly owns that this was "a reward for the discovery of Congo." Now let us bring the detached parts of the story together.

Behaim was knighted on the 18th of Feb-

* See Brookes's *Gazetteer, Benin.*

ruary, 1485, for the discovery of Congo, in which he had been employed twenty-six months preceding, having within that time made two voyages thither in company with Diego Cam. It will follow, then, that the whole of the preceding years, 1484 and 1483, were taken up in these two voyages. This agrees very well with the accounts of the discovery of Congo in Robertson and Forster, and does not disagree with the modern Universal History, as far as the year 1484 is concerned; which, unfortunately, is the year assigned for Benaim's discovery of "that part of America called Brazil, and his sailing even to the Straits of Magellan."

The only thing in M. Otto's memoir which bears any resemblance to a solution of this difficulty is this. "We may suppose that Behaim, engaged in an expedition to Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernambuco, and from thence by the currents towards the coast of Guiana." But suppositions without proof will avail little, and suppositions against proof will avail nothing. The two voyages to Congo are admitted. The course is described, and the time is determined; and both these are directly opposed to the supposition of his being driven by winds and currents to Amer-

ica. For, if he had been driven out of his course, and had spent "several years in examining the American islands, and discovering the strait which bears the name of Magellan," and if one of those years was the year 1484, then he could not have spent twenty-six months preceding February, 1485, in the discovery of Congo; but of this we have full and satisfactory evidence; the discovery of America, therefore, must be given up.

There is one thing farther in this memoir which deserves a particular remark, and that is the reason assigned by M. Otto, for which the King of Portugal declined the proposal of Columbus to sail to India by the West. "The refusal of John II. is a proof of the knowledge which that politic prince had *already* procured of the existence of a new Continent, which offered him only barren lands inhabited by unconquerable savages." This knowledge is supposed to have been derived from the discoveries made by Behaim. But, not to urge again the chronological difficulty with which this conjecture is embarrassed, I will take notice of two circumstances in the life of Columbus which militate with this idea. The first is, that when Co-

lumbus had proposed a Western voyage to King John, and he declined it, "The king, by the advice of one Doctor Calzadilla, resolved to send a caravel privately to attempt that which Columbus had proposed to him; because, in case those countries were so discovered, he thought himself not obliged to bestow any great reward. Having speedily equipped a caravel, which was to carry supplies to the islands of Cabb Verde, he sent it that way which the admiral proposed to go. But those whom he sent wanted the knowledge, constancy, and spirit of the admiral. After wandering many days upon the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking, and saying it was *impossible there should be any land in those seas.*"*

Afterward "the king, being sensible how faulty they were whom he had sent with the caravel, had a mind to restore the admiral to his favour, and desired that he should renew the discourse of his enterprise; but, not being so diligent to put this in execution as the admiral was in getting away, he lost that good opportunity; the admiral, about the end of the year 1484, stole away privately out of

* Life of Columbus, ch. xi.

Portugal for fear of being stopped by the king." This account does not agree with the supposition of a prior discovery.

The other circumstance is an interview which Columbus had with the people of Lisbon and the King of Portugal on his return from his first voyage. For it so happened that Columbus, on his return, was by stress of weather obliged to take shelter in the port of Lisbon ; and, as soon as it was known that he had come from the Indies, "the people thronged to see the natives whom he had brought and hear the news, so that the caravel would not contain them : some of them praising God for so great a happiness, others storming *that they had lost the discovery through their king's incredulity.*"

When the king sent for Columbus "he was doubtful what to do ; but, to take off all suspicion that he came *from his conquests*, he consented." At the interview "the king offered him all that he stood in need of for the service of their Catholic majesties, though he thought that, *forasmuch as he had been a captain in Portugal*, that conquest belonged to him. To which the admiral answered that he knew of no such agreement, and that he had strictly observed his orders, which were

not to go to the mines of Portugal [the Gold Coast], nor to Guinea.”* Had John II. heard of Behaim’s voyage to a Western Continent, would he not have claimed it by priority of discovery rather than by the commission which Columbus had formerly borne in his service? Had such a prior discovery been made, could it have been concealed from the people of Lisbon? And would they have been angry that their king had lost it by his incredulity? These circumstances appear to me to carry sufficient evidence that *no* discovery of America prior to that of Columbus had come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal.

In answer to the question, “Why are we searching the archives of an imperial city for the causes of an event which took place in the western extremity of Europe?” M. Otto gives us to understand that, “from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the Germans were the best geographers, the best historians, and the most enlightened politicians.” Not to detract from the merit of the German literati of those ages, I think we may give equal credit to a learned German author of the present age, Dr. John Reinhold Forster,

* Life, ch. xli.

who appears to have a thorough understanding of the claims, not only of his own countrymen, but of others. In his indefatigable researches into the discoveries which have been made by all nations, though he has given due credit to the adventures of Behaim in Congo and Fayal, yet he has not said one word of his visiting America, which he certainly would have done if, in his opinion, there had been any foundation for it.

LETTERS FROM PAUL, A PHYSICIAN OF FLORENCE, TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, CONCERNING THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

LETTER I.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I PERCEIVE your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced, and therefore, in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he wrote to me, by his highness's order, upon this same account ; and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of the letter is this :

To Ferdinand Martinez, Canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent king; and though I have very often discoursed concerning the *short* way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the coast of Guinea, yet you now tell me that his highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world, yet I have resolved, to render it more easy and intelligible, to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation, and therefore I send one to his majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west, from Ireland in the north to the farthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way. Opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole towards the equinoctial, and for how long a

time ; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows *west*, that product being generally ascribed to the east ; because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west, and they that travel by land eastward will ever find those places in the east. The straight lines that lie lengthways in the chart show the distance there is from west to east ; the others cross them, show the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart several places in India where ships might put in upon any storm, or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeseen.

Moreover, to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know, you must understand that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is as great number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise as in any other part of the world, particularly in a most noble port called *Zacton*, where there are every year a hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice.

This country is mighty populous, and there

are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the *kham*, which name signifies king of kings, who for the most part resides in the Province of *Cathay*. His predecessors were very desirous to have commerce and be in amity with Christians, and 200 years since sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but, by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with, they returned back without coming to Rome.

Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV., who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people, and the Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of their royal structures, and of the greatness, length, and breadth of their rivers. He told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers, and that there were 200 cities upon one river only, with marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves as well as any other to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold,

silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies.

From Lisbon directly westward there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of *Quisay*, which is 100 miles in compass, that is, 35 leagues; in it there are ten marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city, of which wonderful things are reported as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings, and the revenues. This space above mentioned is almost the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the king for the most part resides.

From the island *Antilla*, which you call the Seven Cities, and of which you have some knowledge, to the most noble island of *Cipango*, are ten spaces, which make 2500 miles, or 225 leagues; which island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones; and you must understand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold: so that, for want

of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety.

Much more might be said ; but, having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his highness to the utmost, in all the commands he shall lay upon me.

Florence, June 25, 1474.

LETTER II.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I received your letters with the things you sent me, which I shall take as a great favour, and commend your noble and ardent desire of sailing from east to west, as it is marked out in the chart I sent you, which would demonstrate itself better in the form of a globe.

I am glad it is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. Yor

cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it but by experience and practice, as I have had in great measure, and by the solid and true information of worthy and wise men, who have come from those parts to this court of Rome ; and from merchants who have traded long in those parts, and are persons of good reputation. So that, when the said voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to the most noble cities and provinces, rich and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of spice in great quantities, and store of jewels.

This will, moreover, be grateful to those kings and princes who are very desirous to converse and trade with Christians of these our countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have communication with the wise and ingenious men of these parts, as well in point of religion as in all sciences, because of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of these parts. For which reasons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all admire that you, who have a great heart, and all the Portuguese nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.

V. JAMES CARTIER.

THOUGH the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them, yet their neighbours of Brittany,* Normandy, and Biscay wisely pursued the track of those adventurers, and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1524, John Verazzani,† a Florentine in the service of France, ranged the coast of the new continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and gave it the name of *New France*. In a subsequent voyage he was cut to pieces and devoured by the savages.

It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms, Spain, England, and France, made use of three Italians to conduct their discoveries: Columbus, a Genoese; Cabot, a Venetian;‡ and Verazzani, a Florentine.

* It is supposed that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen of Brittany.

† [For a brief notice of Verazzani, see Chronological Detail.—H.]

‡ [Cabot, though of Venetian extraction, was born in Bristol, England.—H.]

This is a proof that among the Italians there were at that time persons of superior maritime knowledge to the other nations of Europe; though the penurious spirit of those republics, their mutual jealousy and petty wars, made them overlook the benefits resulting from extensive enterprises, and leave the vast regions of the New World to be occupied by others.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenue of France, all farther attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived that a plantation in the neighbourhood of the banks might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I. by Chabot the admiral, JAMES CARTIER,*† of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.‡

On the 20th of April, 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons and 122 men, and on the 10th of May came in sight of Bonavista, on the island of New-

* His name is sometimes written *Quartier*.

† [The French, of course, write the baptismal name Jacques. He was a native of St. Malo, and an able and experienced pilot.—H.]

‡ Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 437.

foundland. But the ice which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward, and he entered a harbour to which he gave the name of St. Catharine,* where he waited for fair weather and fitted his boats.

As soon as the season would permit,† he sailed northward, and examined several harbours and islands on the coast of Newfoundland, in one of which he found such a quantity of birds that in half an hour two boats were loaded with them, and, after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land, he entered the Straits of Bellisle, and visited several harbours on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called Cartier's Sound. The harbour is described as one of the best in the world, but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished, no vegetation being produced among the rocks but thorns and moss. Yet, bad as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.‡

* Called in some maps *Catalina*.

† [May 21st.—Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 202.—H.]

‡ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 201-211

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold; but when they had crossed the gulf in a southwesterly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was so warm that they named it Baye de Chaleur, or the Bay of Heat. Here were several kinds of wild berries, roses, and meadows of grass. In the fresh waters they caught salmon in great plenty.

Having searched in vain for a passage through the bay, they quitted it, and sailed along the coast eastward, till they came to the smaller bay of Gaspè, where they sought shelter from a tempest, and were detained twelve days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking possession for the King of France. A cross of thirty feet high was erected on a point of land. On this cross was suspended a shield, with the arms of France and the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it the people kneeled uncovered, with their hands extended and their eyes lifted towards heaven. The natives who were present beheld the ceremony at first with silent admiration, but after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's skin, made signs to them that the land

was his, and that they should not have it without his leave. They then informed him by signs that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port, and they promised to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought it proper, however, to conciliate the old man's good-will by entertaining him on board the ship and making him several presents, by which means they so prevailed on him that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his sons, young men, to France, on the security of a promise that he would bring them back at his return the next spring.

From Gaspè he sailed so far into the Great River, afterward called St. Lawrence, as to discover land on the opposite side ; but the weather being boisterous, and the current setting against him, he thought it best to return to Newfoundland, and then to France, where he arrived safe in the harbour of St. Malo on the fifth of September.

The discoveries made in this voyage excited farther curiosity ; and the Vice-admiral Melleraye* represented Cartier's merits to

* [Hakluyt, iii., 201, calls him " Sir Charles de Mouy, knight, lorde of Melleraye," &c.—H.]

the king so favourably as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ships, one of 120, one of 60, and one of 40 tons, were destined to perform another voyage in the ensuing spring; and several young men of distinction entered as volunteers, to seek adventures in the New World. When they were ready to sail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus; went in procession to church on Whitsunday, where the Bishop of St. Malo pronounced his blessing on them. They sailed on the 19th of May, 1535. Meeting with tempestuous weather, the ships were separated, and did not join again till Cartier, in the largest ship, arrived at Bird Island,* where he again filled his boats with fowls, and on the 26th of July was joined by the other vessels.

From Bird Island they pursued the same course as in the preceding summer; and having come into the gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they saw abundance of whales. Passing between the island of Assumption (since called Anticosti†) and the northern

* [July 7th.—H.]

† [Called by the natives Natiscotie, whence the present name.—Forster, 439.—H.]

shore, they sailed up the great river till they came to a branch on the northern side, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay ; the main river, they told him, would carry him to Hochelaga, the capital of the whole country.

After spending some time in exploring the northern coast to find an opening to the northward, in the beginning of September he sailed up the river, and discovered several islands, one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called Coudres ; and another, from the vast quantity of grapes, he named Bacchus (now Orleans). This island was full of inhabitants, who subsisted by fishing.

When the ships had come to anchor between the N.W. side of the island and the main, Cartier went on shore with his two young savages. The people of the country were at first afraid of them ; but, hearing the youths speak to them in their own language, they became sociable, and brought eels and other fish, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears, for the refreshment of their new guests, in return for which they were presented with such European baubles as were pleasing to them.

The next day, Donacona, the prince of the

place, came to visit them, attended by twelve boats; but, keeping ten of them at a distance, he approached with two only, containing sixteen men. In the true spirit of hospitality, he made a speech, accompanied with significant gestures, welcoming the French to his country, and offering his service to them. The young savages Taignoagni and Domagaia answered him, reporting all which they had seen in France, at which he appeared to be pleased. Then approaching the captain, who held out his hand, he kissed it, and laid it round his own neck, in token of friendship. Cartier, on his part, entertained Donacona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleased.

The next day Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbour for his ships, the season being so far advanced that it became necessary to secure them. At the west end of the Isle of Bacchus he found "a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, about three fathoms deep at high water." To this he gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ships.

Near this place was a village called Stadacona, of which Donacona was the lord. It was environed with forest-trees, some of which

bore fruit; and under the trees was a growth of wild hemp. As Cartier was returning to his ships, he had another specimen of the hospitable manners of the natives. A company of people, of both sexes, met him on the shore of the little river, singing and dancing up to their knees in water. In return for their courtesy, he gave them knives and beads, and they continued their music till he was beyond hearing it.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbour and secured them, he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hochelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him, and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads, and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed by the ships, brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harangue. Donacona, with his people, pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had

brought news from the god of Hochelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed; and on the 19th of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hochelaga.

Among the woods on the margin of the river were many vines loaded with ripe grapes, than which nothing could be a more welcome sight to Frenchmen, though the fruit was not so delicious as they had been used to taste in their own country. Along the banks were many huts of the natives, who made signs of joy as they passed, presented them with fish, piloted them through narrow channels, carried them ashore on their backs, and helped them to get off their boats when aground. Some presented their children to them, and such as were of proper age were accepted.

The water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult; but, by the friendly assistance of the natives, they surmounted the obstructions. On the 28th of September they passed the rapids

between the islands in the upper part of the Lake Angoulême (now called St. Peters), and on the second of October they arrived at the Island of Hochelaga, where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome reception. About a thousand persons came to meet them, singing and dancing, the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads, and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning Cartier, with twenty-five of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bade them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives, and hung over his neck a cross, which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded they passed through groves of oak, from which the acorns were fallen and lay thick on the ground. After this they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situate the town of Hochelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with

three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of stones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts, built with stakes and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging-places, floored with bark and covered with skins. In the upper part was a scaffold, on which they dried and preserved their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and, having mixed it with water, baked it on hot stones. Besides corn they had beans, squashes, and pumpkins.* They dried their fish and preserved them in troughs. These people lived chiefly by tillage and fishing, and seldom went far from home. Those on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and considered the Lord of Hoche-laga as their sovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When the new guests were conducted to an open square in the centre of the town, the females came to them, rubbing their hands

* [Or, as the narrative in Hakluyt, iii., 220, has it, "muske-millions and very great cowcubers"—H.]

and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the strangers. They spread mats for them on the ground, while the men seated themselves in a large circle on the outside. The king was then brought in a litter, on the shoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat next to the French captain. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of distinction but a coronet made of porcupine's quills dyed red; which he took off and gave to the captain, requesting him to rub his arms and legs, which were trembling with a palsy. Several persons, blind, lame, and withered with age, were also brought to be touched, as if they supposed that their new guests were messengers from Heaven invested with a power of healing diseases. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating some devotional passages from a service-book which he had in his pocket, accompanying his ejaculations with significant gestures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively observed and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he desired all the men, women, and children to arrange themselves in separate bodies. To the

men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, which highly pleased the company and set them to dancing.

Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit, where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands, and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them that they might sail on it for three months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds, and that on the other side of the mountains there was another river which ran in a contrary direction to the southwest, through a country full of delicious fruits, and free from snow and ice; that there was found such metal as the captain's *silver* whistle and the haft of a dagger belonging to one of the company, which was gilt with *gold*. Being shown some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this hill Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, which it has ever since retained.

The visit being finished, the natives accompanied the French to their boats, carrying such as were weary on their shoulders. They were loth to part with their guests, and followed them along the shore of the river to a considerable distance.

On the fourth of October Cartier and his company departed from Hochelaga. In passing down the river they erected a cross on the point of an island which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a shallow river, on the north side, called Fouetz. On the eleventh they arrived at the Port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had enclosed the ships with a palisade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

The next day Donacona invited them to his residence, where they were entertained with the usual festivity and made the customary presents. They observed that these people used the leaves of an herb [tobacco], which they preserved in pouches made of skins and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French,* but the natives valued it as

* [The use of this weed was a matter of great astonishment, as well as disgust, to the French. The writer of Cartier's voyage says, "they sucke so long that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney."—H.]

contributing much to the preservation of their health. Their houses appeared to be well supplied with provisions. Among other things which were new to the French, they observed the scalps of five men spread and dried like parchment. These were taken from their enemies the Toudamani, who came from the south, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to spend the winter among these friendly people, they traded with them for the provisions which they could spare, and the river supplied them with fish till it was hard frozen.

In December the scurvy began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourse with them; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontrolled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of one hundred and ten persons, fifty were sick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk went in procession, through the ice and snow, singing the seven penitential Psalms, and performing other devotional ex-

ercises. At the close of the solemnity Cartier made a vow that, "if it would please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado." But it was necessary to watch as well as pray. To prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able to make as much noise as possible with axes and hammers; and told the natives that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any of them to go from the ships till their work was done. The ships were fast frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March; the snow was four feet deep, and higher than the sides of the ships above the ice. The severity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the scurvy still raged; twenty-five men had fallen victims to it, and the others were so weak and low in spirits that they despaired of ever seeing their native country.

In the depth of this distress and despondency, Cartier, who had escaped the disease, in walking one day on the ice met some of the natives, among whom was Domagaia, one of the young men who had been with him to France, and who then resided with his coun-

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trymen at Stadacona. He had been sick with the scurvy, his sinews had been shrunk and his knees swollen, his teeth loose, and his gums rotten ; but he was then recovered, and told Cartier of a certain tree, the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy. Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree, telling him that *one* of his people had been affected with the same disorder. Two women were immediately despatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction, which was thus : “to boil the bark and the leaves ; to drink of the liquor every other day ; and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick.”*

* This tree was called by the natives Ameda or Haneda. Mr. Hakluyt supposes it to have been the sassafras ; but, as the leaves were used with the bark in the winter, it must have been an evergreen. The dregs of the bark were also applied to the sore legs of the patient. From these circumstances I am inclined to think that it was the spruce pine (*pinus Canadensis*), which is used in the same manner by the Indians, and such as have learned of them. Spruce beer is well known to be a powerful antiscorbutic ; and the bark of this and of the white pine serves as a cataplasm for wounds and sores.*

* [We may add, that, for the use of Cartier's men, “a tree, as big as any oake in France, was spoyled and stripped bare.” The narrator of the second voyage speaks of “a kind of tree which they call Hanneda, above three fathom about.” We believe the sassafras hardly attains so great size. That it was used for such purposes appears, however, from the following

This remedy presently came into use on board the ships; and its good effects were so surprising, that within one week they were completely healed of the scurvy; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of winter having continued four months without intermission, at the return of the sun the season became milder, and in April the ice began to break up. On the third day of May Cartier took possession of the country by erecting a cross thirty-five feet high, on which was hung a shield, bearing the arms of France, with this inscription: FRANCISCUS *primus*, *Dei gratiâ*, FRANCORUM *Rex, regnat.*

The same day, being a day of festivity,* the two young savages Taignoagni and Domagaia, with Donacona, the chief of the place, came on board the ships, and were partly

passage from Josselyn's "Account of Two Voyages to New-England" (3d Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 257): "The sassafras is no great tree; I have met with some as big as my middle. A decoction of the roots and bark thereof is good for the scurvie, taken some time together, and laying upon the legs the leaves of white hellebore." This corresponds to Cartier's narrative except in the particular of size.—H.]

* [Being Holy Rood day, i. e., the day of the holy cross.—Hakluyt, iii., 229.—H.]

prevailed on and partly constrained to accompany Cartier to France. A handsome present was made to the family of Donacona, but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him, though Cartier promised to bring him again at the end of twelve months. On the sixth of May they sailed from the port of St. Croix, and, having touched at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo, in France, the sixth of July, 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God the history does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promise to his passengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold nor silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur-trade were not fully understood, and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate was greatly overbalanced by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, that, on their arrival in France, they were, at their own request, baptized; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home of

the fine country beyond the lakes* had, however, made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval,† was commissioned by the king as his lieutenant-governor in Canada‡ and Hochelaga, and Cartier

* [It is worth our while to notice with what partial and erroneous information, and, of course, unreasonable expectations, the expeditions of those days were undertaken. Gold and silver being the chief objects of desire, Cartier greedily received from the natives accounts of rich mines, and doubtless reported them with no diminution. They told him of a people in Saguenay “very honest, with many inhabited towns, and great store of gold.”—Hakluyt, iii., 225. Donacona had informed him of “infinite rubies, gold, and other riches” there, and “white men who clothe themselves with woollen cloth, as we doe in France.”—Ib., 228. They reported, too, a country distant a month’s sail, perhaps down the Mississippi, of “oranges, almonds, cinnamon, and cloves.”—Ib., 225, 232. The Indians who went with Cartier to France told similar stories to the king. Whether he or the natives were most deluded in these representations we do not know. Probably, early aware of the cupidity of the French, they had framed their stories to satisfy it.—H.]

† [Hakluyt, iii., 232, calls him John Francis, &c. He was a nobleman of Picardy, of great weight in his own province, and on that account Francis I. used to call him “the little King of Vimieu.”—Forster, 441.—H.]

‡ [The name Canada, some say, was derived from a saying of Velasco, who, when he saw the barrenness of the country, no signs of gold or silver there, cried out “*aca nada*” (or *aqui nada*), “Nothing here.” Some of the old maps have the name *Cada-nada*, or Cape Nothing. Others, say more probably, that the

was appointed his pilot,* with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The king's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo on the 23d of May, 1540.

The winds were adverse and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August, when they came to the port of St. Croix in the River of Canada.

The first inquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment was shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had long been working, received strength from an answer so liable to suspicion.

The history of this voyage being imperfect, it is not possible to say in what particular name given by the natives to a town or village was Canada, which the French understood to be the name of the country.—Forster, 438, note, and Hakluyt, iii., 232.—H.]

* ["Captain-general and leader of the shippes." The voyage was made at the joint expense of Roberval and of the king, Francis I.—H.]

manner this jealousy operated. Cartier made another excursion up the river, and pitched on a place about four leagues above St. Croix, to lay up three of his vessels for the winter. The other two he sent back to France to inform the king of what they had done, and that Roberval had not arrived.

At the new harbour which he had chosen for his ships was a small river, running in a serpentine course to the south. On the eastern side of its entrance was a high and steep cliff, on the top of which they built a fort, and called it Charleburg. Below, the ships were drawn up and fortified, as they had been in the former winter which he spent here. Not far from the fort were some rocks containing crystals, which they denominated diamonds; and on the shore were picked up certain specks of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was found in abundance, and a kind of black slate; with veins of an apparent metallic substance.

In what manner they passed the winter, the defective accounts which we have do not inform us. In the spring of the following year, Cartier and his company, having heard nothing of Roberval, and concluding that they

were abandoned by their friends, and exposed to perish in a climate the most severe, and among people whose conduct towards them was totally changed, determined to return to France. Accordingly, having set sail at the breaking up of the ice, they arrived in the harbour of St. John in Newfoundland some time in June, where they met Roberval, who, with three ships and two hundred persons, male and female, had sailed from Rochelle in April,* and were on their way to establish a colony in Canada. Cartier went on board Roberval's ship, and showed him the diamonds and gold which he had found, but told him that the hostile disposition of the natives had obliged him to quit the country, which, however, he represented to him as capable of profitable cultivation. Roberval ordered him to return to Canada; but Cartier privately sailed out of the harbour in the night, and pursued his voyage to France.

Mortified and disappointed, Roberval continued some time longer at St. John's before he proceeded, and about the end of July ar-

* [Roberval sailed April 16, 1542.—Hakluyt, iii., 240. The same author says that Cartier had gone "the year before." Cartier must have been there nearly two years when Roberval arrived.—H.]

rived at the place which Cartier had quitted. There he erected a fort on a commanding eminence, and another at its foot, in which were deposited all the provision, ammunition, artillery, implements of husbandry, and other materials for the intended colony.*

In September, two vessels were sent back to France, to carry specimens of crystal and fetch provisions for the next year, the stores which they had brought being much reduced. By the help of the fish which they took in the river, and the game which they procured from the savages, and by well husbanding their provisions, they lingered out a tedious winter, having suffered much from the scurvy, of which about fifty of them died. In addition to this distress, Roberval exercised such

* [Near the present site of Quebec. The fortifications of what is now the Gibraltar of America are thus described in the narrative of Roberval : " The saide generall, at his first arrival, built a fayre fort, which is very beautiful to behold and of great force, . . situated upon an high mountain, wherein were two courtes of buyldings, a great tower, and another of fortie or fiftie foot long : wherein there were divers chambers, an hall, a kitchen, houses of office, sellers, high and lowe, and neere unto it were an oven and milles, and a stove to warm men in, and a well before the house. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great tower of two stories high, two courtes of good buyldings." Such was it in 1542.—H.]

severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes underwent the discipline of the whip.

In April the ice began to break up, and on the fifth of June he proceeded up the river, leaving De Royeze, his lieutenant, to command in his absence, with orders to embark for France if he should not return by the middle of July.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up, and no farther attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada till after the expiration of half a century. The last account of Roberval is that, in 1549, he sailed with his brother on some voyage of discovery, and never returned.*

In this first visit which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him, or given in exchange for his tri-

* [Bosman, *History of Maryland*, p. 41, says to the St. Lawrence.—H.]

fles ; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds ; they would wade through rivers, and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them, they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant and unguarded in their first attachment, and, from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they had adored proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves—especially when they found their confidence misplaced and their generous friendship ill requited—then the rage of jealousy extinguished the virtue of benevolence, and they struggled to rid themselves of him as an enemy whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer to regard the man of nature as an inferior being ; and, while he availed himself of his strength and experience,

to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury, to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel, though he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.

VI. FERDINANDO DE SOTO.*

THE travels and transactions of this adventurer are of so little importance in the history of America, that I should not have thought them worthy of much notice had it not been that some gentlemen of ingenuity and learning have had recourse to the expedition of this Spaniard as a means of solving the question respecting the mounds and fortifications of a regular construction which, within a few years past, have been discovered in the thickest shades of the American forest.† Though the opinion seems to have been candidly given up by one of the writers who attempted to defend it, yet, as what was published on the subject may have impressed some persons with an idea that these works were of Euro-

* [A minute and circumstantial narrative of De Soto's expedition was written by a "Portugese gentleman of Elvas," who accompanied him. It was translated about 1562, and is cited in these notes as the Relation.—H.]

† If the reader wishes to see a particular investigation of this hypothesis, he may consult the American Magazine, printed at New-York, for December, 1787, January and February, 1788, and some subsequent numbers, compared with the Columbian Magazine, printed at Philadelphia, for September and November, 1788.

pean fabric, I shall briefly relate the history of Soto's march, and the difficulties which attend the supposition that he was the builder of any of these fortifications.

After the conquest of Mexico and Peru in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the inextinguishable thirst for gold which had seized the Spanish adventurers prompted them to search for that bewitching metal wherever there could be any prospect of finding it. Three unsuccessful attempts had been made in Florida by Ponce, Gomez, and Narvaez;* but, because these adventurers did not penetrate the interior parts of the Continent, FERDINANDO DE SOTO,† governor of

* [See Chronological Detail, &c.—H.]

† [De Soto was born at Xeres de Bajados (but, according to Garcilaso, at Villa Nuova de Barcarota, in Estremadura: see also Biog. Univ.), of a respectable family, but not distinguished for rank or wealth. By virtue of his natural energy and enthusiasm he became interested in the then popular adventures in America, where he served under Pedrarias Davila, governor of Darien, having "no more estate than a sword and buckler." With Pizarro in the conquest of Peru he commanded a troop of horse, and gained much reputation as well as wealth. His share of the spoils in that expedition is said to have been 180,000 crowns of gold. On his return to Spain he appeared at court with a magnificent retinue and equipage, "resolved to make himself be taken notice of by a sumptuous expense, though otherwise he had no inclination to liberality." Here he married the daughter of Pedrarias, and received the favourable notice of the emperor, who now made him governor of Cuba, and added

Cuba, who had been a companion of the Pizarros in their Peruvian expedition, and had there amassed much wealth, projected a march into Florida, of which country he had the title of adelantado, or president. He sailed from the port of Havanna May 18, 1539, with nine vessels, six hundred men,* two hundred and thirteen horses, and a herd of swine, and arrived on the 30th of the same month in the Bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Being a soldier of fortune and determined on conquest, he immediately pitched his camp and secured it. A foraging party met with a few Indians, who resisted them; two were killed; the others escaped, and reported to

the title of "marquis of the lands which he might conquer." His inclination to invade Florida was strengthened, if not originated, by the narrative of Cabeça de Vaca, one of the survivors of the unfortunate expedition of Narvaez, who represented it as one of the richest countries in the world. Soto quickly assembled a company for this purpose, among whom were many cavaliers of quality from Spain and Portugal. He equipped seven ships, and sailed from St. Lucar in the month of April, 1538. In the year which elapsed before he left Cuba for Florida, he sent two expeditions to explore the coast and select a suitable place for landing. The fleet with which he sailed from Havanna consisted of five ships, two caravels, and two brigantines, with six hundred men.—H.]

* In Prince's Chronology it is said that Soto had 900 men, but he quotes Purchas for his authority, in whose book the number is "*six hundred.*"

their countrymen that the *warriors of fire* had invaded their territories, upon which the smaller towns were deserted, and the natives hid in the woods.*

Having met with a Spaniard of the party of Narvaez,† who had been wrecked on the coast, and had been twelve years a captive with the Indians, Soto made use of him as a messenger to them to inquire for gold and silver; and, wherever he could receive any

* [The treatment of the Indians by De Soto and his party was marked by every circumstance of ferocious and brutal cruelty. They were hunted by bloodhounds, loaded with chains, forced to be baggage-carriers and guides, attacked on the slightest cause, and slaughtered like beasts. Take an example: "The general sent out two captains several ways to take Indians, who brought in a hundred, as well women as men, that were all divided in this manner: The captain who took the prize set one or two apart for the governor, the rest were divided between the captain and soldiers. They were chained by the neck, and served to carry the baggage, pound the maize, and in other employments wherein the chain incommoded them not too much." If any attempted to escape, "they paid dear for it."—Relation, p. 44. "Nor, indeed, did any of those who were put in chains ever return again" with the consent of their captors.—Ib., 81. And again, "the Indians that served us, going naked and in irons during the bitter cold of winter, were almost all starved to death."—Ib., 50. The historian of Elvas adds, that De Soto "could not endure that any Indian should be so bold as to fall foul upon a Christian, right or wrong."—Ib., 77. Once he ordered an Indian to be burned alive merely to gain information of his route.—Ib., 62.—H.]

† [John Ortiz. He died at Autiamque in 1542.—H.]

information respecting these precious metals, thither he directed his march.

His manner of marching was this: The horsemen carried bags of corn and other provisions, the footmen marched by the side of the horses, and the swine were driven before them.* When they first landed they had thirteen female swine, which in two years increased to several hundreds; the warmth of the climate being favourable to their propagation, and the forests yielding them a plenty of food.

The first summer and winter were spent in the Peninsula of Florida, not far from the Bay of Apalache; and in the beginning of the following spring, having sent back his vessels to Cuba for supplies, and left a part of his men at the port, where he expected the

* [The fatigues and sufferings of the company were excessive. The footmen were obliged to carry their provision on their backs, and often reduced to extremities and death from the want of suitable food. Their journeys were over deserts and difficult mountains, or through tracts inhabited by those only of whom their own cruelty had made them auspicious, and who more than once proved themselves no contemptible foe. They swam rivers, waded deep marshes, cut through canebrakes, hungered, thirsted, scorched under a hot sun, and wasted away from fear, anxiety, and doubt. The golden region fled before them, *semper cedentia retro*, and their high hopes of conquest and wealth gradually gave way to uncertainty and despair, till they abandoned every wish but to escape with life.—H.]

ships to return, he marched towards the north and east in search of a place called Yupaha, where he had been informed there was gold.*

In this march he crossed the River Altamaha, and probably the Ogechee, and came, as he was informed, within two days' journey of the Bay of St. Helena, where the Spaniards had been several years before. In all this march he stayed not more than a week in any one place.†

* [He was induced to march for Yupaha by the representations of a young Indian, who told him that the queen of that country received tribute in gold; and, to confirm his statements, described the process of digging, melting, and refining it, "as if he had seen it done a hundred times."—Relation, 49. On reaching it they were disappointed in their expectations of gold; but, having searched the tombs of the town, they found "fourteen bushels of pearls," which they lost in the burning at Mobile.—Ib., 65, 95.—H.]

† [It is impossible to ascertain exactly the points which De Soto reached in his various excursions. We have the time and distance of the marches in general terms, the latter of which, at least, must be received with some caution. For their marches were often circuitous, and even retrograde, and their own computation of days' marches probably carelessly made. As we have not the precise length of their days' marches, which were very various, so we have not the precise number of days which they were actually marching. We cannot arrive at any certainty, though we may make, as in the text, a plausible conjecture. The party left Palache the third of March, 1540, and left Cutifachiqui, in the region of Yupaha, the third of May; and the distance is given at "four hundred and thirty leagues, from southwest to northeast."—Relation, &c., 50, 68, 87.—H.]

He then set his face *northward*, and, having passed a hilly country, came to a district called Chalaque, which is supposed to be the country now called Cherokee, on the upper branches of the River Savannah.* Thence he turned *westward* in search of a place called Chiaha, and in this route he crossed the Alleghany Ridge and came to Chiaha, where his horses and men, being excessively fatigued, rested thirty days. The horses fed in a meadow, and the people lay under the trees, the weather being very hot, and the natives in peace. This was in the months of May and June. During their abode there they heard of a country called Chisca, where was copper and another metal of the same colour. This country lay *northward*, and a party was sent with Indian guides to view it. Their report was that the mountains were impassable, and Soto did not attempt to proceed any farther in that direction.

From a careful inspection of the maps in the American Atlas, I am inclined to think

* [To Chalaque was seven days' march, and to Xualla, in the same direction, to the north, five days. The distance is given as two hundred and fifty leagues. If we take from this one hundred leagues, which they went in the country of Yupaha, they must have travelled about thirty-eight miles a day, through a difficult and mountainous country.—Relation, 69, 70.—H.]

that the place where Soto crossed the mountains was within the thirty-fifth degree of latitude. In Delisle's map a village called Canasaga is laid down on the N.W. side of the Alleghany, or, as it is sometimes called, the Apalachian ridge of mountains, in that latitude; and Chiaha is said in Soto's journal to be five days westward from Canasagua.

To ascertain the situation of Chiaha we must observe that it is said to be subject to the Lord of Cosa, which is situate on an eastern branch of the Mobbille; and Soto's sick men came *down* the river from Chiaha in boats. This river could be none but a branch of the Mobbille; and his course was then turned towards the *south*. In this march he passed through Alibama, Talise, Tascalusa,* names which are still known and marked on the maps, till he came to the town of Mavilla, which the French pronounced Mouville and Mobbille. It was then a walled town, but the walls were of wood. The inhabitants had conceived a disgust to the Spaniards, which was augmented by an outrage com-

* [The modern names are Alabama, Tallahassee probably, and Tuscaloosa. Talise is briefly described as "a great town, and situated neere unto a main river." The position of Tascalusa is not very exactly defined.—H.]

mitted on one of their chiefs, and finally broke out in a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the innocent natives were slain, and many of the Spaniards killed and wounded, and the town was burned. This was in the latter end of October.

It is probable that Soto intended to pass the winter in the neighbourhood of that village if he could have kept on friendly terms with the Indians, for there he could have had a communication with Cuba. There he heard that the vessels which he had sent to Cuba for supplies were arrived at Ochus [Pensacola], where he had agreed to meet them; but he kept this information secret, because he had not yet made any discoveries which his Spanish friends would think worthy of regard. The country about him was populous and hostile, and, being void of gold or silver, was not an object for him to possess at the risk of losing his army, of which above a hundred had already perished. He therefore, after staying twenty-eight days for the recovery of his wounded, determined on a retreat.

In this retreat it has been supposed that he penetrated northward beyond the Ohio. The truth is, that he began his march from Mavilla, a village near the mouth of the Mobbille, on

the 18th of November, and on the 17th of December arrived at Chicaça, an Indian village of twenty houses, where they remained till the next April.

The distance, the time, the nature of the country, the course and manner of the march, and the name of the village, all concur to determine this winter-station of Soto to be a village of the *Chickasaw* Indians, situate on the upper part of the Yasou, a branch of the Mississippi, about eighty leagues northwestward from Mobile, and not less than one hundred and forty leagues southwestward from the Muskingum, where the great fortifications which gave rise to this inquiry are found. From *Chicaça*, in the spring, he went westward, and crossed a river within the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, which he called Rio Grande, and which is now known to be the Mississippi.*

On the western side of the Mississippi, after rambling all summer, he spent the next

* [At the place where they crossed "the river was half a league over, so that a man could not be distinguished from one side to the other." The description of the river fully corresponds with the peculiarities of the Mississippi. It is worthy of notice that in this route they heard of a tradition among the natives that "a white people should come and conquer their country."—*Relation, &c.*, 109, 112.—H.]

winter, at a place called Autiamque, where he enclosed his camp with a wall of timber, the work of three days only. Within this enclosure he lodged safely during three months;* and, in the succeeding spring, the extreme fatigue and anxiety which he had suffered threw him into a fever, of which he died, May 21, 1542, at Guacoya.† To prevent his death from being known to the Indians, his body was sunk in the middle of a river.

His lieutenant, Louis de Moscosco,‡ continued to ramble on the western side of the Mississippi till the next summer, when, worn with fatigue, disappointment, and loss of men, he built seven boats, called brigantines, on the Mississippi, in which the shattered remnants, consisting of three hundred and

* [He left Autiamque the 6th of March, having hardly more than three hundred soldiers remaining, and about forty horses.—H.]

† [His death is reported to have been peaceful and religious, though his life was cruel and bloody. His character was one not rare in that day, haughty, obstinate, perfidious, and selfish. yet daring, energetic, and enthusiastic.—H.]

‡ [Louis de Moscosco had been Soto's lieutenant, or, as he is called, "camp-master-general," through the whole expedition. He was a fellow-townsmen of Soto, and was named by him on his deathbed to succeed to the command of the army. Before sailing down the Mississippi, he led them westward towards Mexico between four and five hundred miles.—H.]

eleven, returned to Cuba in September, 1543.*†

The place where Soto died is said to have been on the bank of the Red River, a western branch of the Mississippi, in lat. 31°. The place where the remnant of his army built their vessels and embarked for Cuba is called in the journal Minoya. They were seventeen days in sailing down the river, and they computed the distance to be two hundred and fifty leagues.‡

From this account, faithfully abridged from Purchas, and compared with the best maps, I am fully persuaded that the whole country through which Soto travelled on the eastern side of the Mississippi is comprehended within Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and that he never went farther northward than the 35th degree of latitude, which is distant two degrees southward from any part of the Ohio. The conclusion then is, that he could

* Purchas, vol. v., p. 1532-1556.

† [The Relation, &c., p. 211, says they sailed 52 days from the Mississippi along the coast of the gulf to the River Panico, in Mexico, where they arrived September 10, 1543, and that most of them, after remaining there a few weeks, visited the city of Mexico.—H.]

‡ Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, says 400 in figures; but Purchas, from whom he quotes, says "two hundred and fifty."

not have been the builder of those fortifications still remaining in that part of the continent which lies N.W. of the Ohio. Nor, indeed, can any works which he erected for the security of his camp be subsisting at this time; for the best of them were made of wood, and were intended to cover his men and protect his horses and swine only during one winter.

The works which have so much excited curiosity and conjecture are far more numerous, extensive, and durable. They are found in various and distant places in the interior part of the continent, on both sides of the Mississippi, on the Ohio and its branches, on James and Potomac Rivers in Virginia, in the country of the Six Nations, and on the shores of Lake Erie, where they are exceedingly numerous.

The most obvious mode of solving the question respecting them is by inquiry of the present natives. But the structures are too ancient for their tradition; the oldest and wisest men know nothing of their original. The form and materials of these works indicate the existence of a race of men superior to the present race in improvement, in de-

sign, and in that patience which must have accompanied the labour of erecting them.

Trees which have been found growing on them have been cut down, and, from indubitable marks, are known to have been upward of three hundred years old; nor were these the first growth upon them.

The mounds and ramparts are constructed of earth, and have acquired a firmness and solidity which render it probable that they are the work of some remote age and some other people, who had different ideas of convenience, and were better acquainted with the arts of defence, and, in fact, were much more numerous than the ancestry of those natives of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge.

It is to be hoped that the persons who now occupy and are cultivating the lands where these singular buildings are found, will preserve, as far as they are able, some, at least, of these monuments of unknown ages, that, as they have long resisted the ravages of time, and may possibly baffle the researches of the present generation, they may subsist unimpaired as subjects of speculation to our posterity.

VII. HUMPHREY GILBERT.

AFTER the discovery of Newfoundland by the Cabots, the passion for adventure among the English met with many severe checks. But while one adventurer after another was returning home from an unsuccessful voyage, foreigners were reaping the benefit of their partial discoveries.

Within the first forty years we have no account of any attempt made by the English to prosecute the discovery of the new continent, except that in 1536 two vessels, containing one hundred and twenty persons, of whom thirty were gentlemen of education and character, under the conduct of "Master Hore, of London,"* made a voyage to Newfoundland;† but they were so ill provided, and knew so little of the nature of the country, that they suffered the extremity of famine. For, notwithstanding the immense quantities of fish and fowl to be found on those coasts,

* [Master Hore is described as "a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the study of cosmography."
—Hakluyt, iii., 129.—H.]

† Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 130.

they were reduced so low as to watch the nests of birds of prey, and rob them of the fish which they brought to feed their young. To collect this scanty supply, with a mixture of roots and herbs, the men dispersed themselves in the woods until several of them were missing. It was at first thought that they were devoured by wild beasts ; but it was found that they met with a more tragical fate, the stronger having killed the weaker, and feasted on their flesh. In the midst of this distress, a French ship arriving with a supply of provisions, they took her by force, and returned to England, leaving to the Frenchmen their own smaller vessels, and dividing the provision between them. Complaint of this act of piracy was made to King HENRY VIII., who, knowing the miseries of the unfortunate crew, instead of punishing them, paid the damage out of his own coffers.

Within the succeeding forty years the English had begun to make some advantage by the fishery, and in 1578 the state of it is thus described :* “ There are about one hundred sail of Spaniards who come to take cod, who make it all wet, and dry it when they come

* Letter of Anthony Parkhurst to Richard Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 132.

home, besides twenty or thirty more who come from Biscay to kill whales for train. These be better appointed for shipping and furniture of munition than any other nation save the English, who commonly are *lords of the harbours*. As touching their tonnage, I think it may be near five or six thousand. Of Portugals there are not above fifty sail, whose tonnage may amount to three thousand, and they make all wet. Of the French nation there are about one hundred and fifty sail; the most of their shipping is very small, not past forty tons; among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better than the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards; the burden of them may be about seven thousand. The English vessels have increased in four years from thirty to fifty sail. The trade which our nation hath to Iceland maketh that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.”

The next year [1579] Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT a patent for the discovering, occupying, and peopling of “such remote, heathen, and barbarous countries as were not actually possessed by any *Christian* people.”*

* Hakluyt, iii., 135. Forster, 292.

[Sir Humphrey Gilbert was descended from an ancient family in Devonshire. His father was Otho Gilbert, Esq.; of Greenway, and his mother Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury. Humphrey, born at Compton, in Devonshire, 1539, was the second son, yet inherited a considerable estate. He received his early education at Eton, whence he was removed to Oxford. While yet a boy he was introduced by his aunt, Mrs. Ashley, to Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have been much pleased with his studious temper and courtly behaviour, and recommended him to the especial favour of Sir Henry Sidney, afterward lord-deputy of Ireland. The turn of his mind and studies was towards the art of war, navigation, and the like, and, as he diligently applied himself to these, he soon distinguished himself for courage, learning, knowledge, and practical skill.

Opportunities were not wanting in those days for the employment and display of qualities such as young Gilbert possessed, and, being ambitious of distinction, he did not hesitate to use them. The first expedition in which he gained peculiar notice was that to New-Haven, in which his coolness,

prudence, and daring raised high hopes of his future eminence. He was soon appointed colonel in Munster,* a post of great difficulty and danger, "where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Irish than any Englishman employed in that service. By his industry and address he composed the stirs raised by the MacCarthies, and by his valour and activity drove the Butlers out of his province when they swerved from their duty, and forced James Fitz Maurice, the greatest captain among the Irish, to abandon his country and seek safety abroad."*

In the Parliament of April 2d, 1571, 13th Eliz., he was a member of the Lower House from Compton, his native place.

It is remarkable that, while Sir Humphrey Gilbert evidently gave much time and attention to the subjects of cosmography and maritime discovery, we have no record of early adventures by sea. His "Discourse to prove a passage by the Northwest to *Cathaia* and the *East Indies*" was first published in 1576.† It

* [Fuller, in his *Worthies of Devon*, says in 1569.—H.]

† [Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii. See also *Hollinshed*, vi., 366-7.—H.]

‡ [Campbell, ii., 17. The discourse is preserved in *Hakluyt*, vol. ii., p. 11-24.—H.]

is a methodical treatise, in which he affirms that America is an island, bounded on the north side by "the sea that severeth it from Groneland, thorow which Northern Seas the passage lyeth." This he attempts to prove "by authoritie, by reason, by experience of sundry men's travailes, by circumstance," &c., &c. The arguments are not all very conclusive. In his chapter of authorities he refers to Plato, Philo, and Aristotle. Yet the work evinces much learning and ability, as well as enthusiasm and credulity; and he at least deserves credit for his confident anticipation of what it has been reserved for the enterprise of our own day to demonstrate. He had also written another "Simple Discourse of Navigation," on which he had "not a little travelled," which is now lost. He concludes the discourse we have described with this sentiment, "That he is not worthy to live at all that for feare or danger of death shunneth his countrie's service and his owne honour, seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall."

The queen, who seldom failed to distinguish merit, bestowed on him, from time to time, the most encouraging notices. She knighted him, gave him one of her maids of

honour in marriage, and, upon his preparing for his voyage, sent him a golden anchor with a large pearl at the peak, which he ever after wore at his breast as a singular honour. Raleigh accompanied this present, which was sent through his hands, with this letter: "I have sent you a token from her majesty, an anchor guided by a lady, as you see; and, farther, her highness willed me to send you word that she wished you as great hap and safety to your ship as if herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself as of that which she tendereth. Farther, she commandeth that you leave your picture with me," &c.* Sir Humphrey is represented as a gentleman of winning and courteous manners, commanding esteem and respect at first sight; "his stature beyond the ordinary size, his complexion sanguine, and his constitution robust."† Hollinshed, or, rather, Hooker, in the supplement to Hollinshed, vi., 367, says he was "a man of higher stature than the common sort; of a complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition."

* [Southey's *Lives of British Admirals*, vol. iv., 218. Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, i., 31.—H.]

† [Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, i., 7, note.—H.]

The patent given by Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert was dated June 11, 1578, and not, as stated by Dr. Belknap, 1579.* The provisions of the charter thus granted deserve notice, as it was one of the first in the long series of colony charters granted by the crown of England, and as it shows what notions of colonization prevailed in those days. After the general license to discover any countries not possessed by any Christian prince or people, it bestows the "soil of the same, with the royalties and jurisdiction, upon him, and his heirs, and assigns forever, with power to dispose of them, or any part of them, in fee simple; to transport any persons thither, unless specially restrained by the crown; authority to expel by force all persons who should attempt to inhabit within the space of two hundred leagues; to capture all who should trade there without his license; to punish at his discretion in all causes, civil, criminal, and capital; and to make laws agreeable to the policy of England and the

* [Chalmers, p. 4, says it was given in March; Foster, l. c., dates it in 1578. Hazard, *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 24, and Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 137, who are better authority, and who give the patent at length, concur with Dr. Robertson in dating it June 11th, 1578.—H.]

Christian faith professed in the Church of England.”]

In consequence of this grant, many of his friends joined him, and preparations were made for an expedition, which promised to be highly advantageous. But, before the fleet was ready, some declined and retracted their engagements. Gilbert, with a few companions, sailed ;* but a violent storm, in which one of the ships foundered, caused him to return. This misfortune involved him in debt, and he had no way to satisfy the demands of his creditors but by grants of land in America. By such means the country was not likely to be peopled, nor the conditions of his patent fulfilled. He was obliged, therefore, to sell his estate before he could make another attempt ; and, after long solicitation, being assisted by some friends, he set sail from Plymouth with five ships,† carrying two hun-

* [Sir Walter Raleigh was one of these companions.—Cayley, i., 17. This voyage is supposed to have been made early in the summer of 1579. Few particulars of it have remained to us. One of the ships was lost in “a smart action with the Spaniards.”—Cayley, *ubi supra*.—H.]

† [The fleet would hardly now be deemed adequate to such an enterprise. It consisted of the *Delight*, 120 tons, the bark *Raleigh*, 200 tons, the *Golden Hind*, 40 tons, the *Swallow*, 40 tons, and the *Squirrel*, 10 tons. Some of the crude notions of the adventurers are exhibited in one specimen of the cargo

dred and sixty men, on the eleventh of June, 1583, and on the eleventh of July* arrived off the bay of St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland.

Thirty-six fishing vessels were then in the harbour, who refused him admittance. He prepared to enter by force of arms; but previously sent in his boat with his commission from Queen Elizabeth, on sight of

"Besides," says Edward Hayes, the captain of the *Golden Hind*, and author of the narration in Hakluyt, and who writes himself "gentleman and principal actour in the same voyage," "for solace of our people and allurement of the savages, we were provided of musike in good varietie, not omitting the least toyes, as morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and May-like conceits, to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferentlie furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people." The bark *Raleigh* abandoned the expedition soon after it sailed, an infectious disease having broken out among the crew.—H.]

* [The date in the text must, I think, be an error. Forster, indeed, p. 293, says, "on the 11th of July they saw land;" but he could hardly have been detained three weeks (July 11th to Aug. 3d) "off the bay" by fishing vessels. And Hayes, whose account is the original, Hakluyt, iii., 149, says, "Tuesday, the 30th of July" (seven weeks after sailing), "we got sight of land." See also a letter of Stephen Parmenius from St. John's to Hakluyt.—Ib., 162. They then sailed south along the coast by Bacalaos, &c., some twenty leagues, ib., 150, and reached the harbour of St. John's Aug. 3d.—Hakluyt, iii., 165, and Gilbert's letter to Sir George Peckham.—H.]

which they submitted, and he sailed into the port.*

The intention of this voyage was to take formal possession of the island, and of the fishery on its banks, for the crown of England. This was done in the following manner :†

On Monday, the fifth of August, Admiral Gilbert had his tent pitched on shore, in sight of all the shipping; and, being attended by his own people, summoned the merchants and masters of vessels, both Englishmen and others, to be present at the ceremony. When they were all assembled, his commission was read, and interpreted to the foreigners. Then a turf and a twig were delivered to him, which he received with a hazel wand. Immediately proclamation was made, that by virtue of his commission from the queen, he took possession; for the crown of England, of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way round it.

He then published three laws for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the mode of the Church of England. By the

* Stith's History of Virginia, p. 6.

† Hakluyt, iii., 151, 165.

second, the attempting of anything prejudicial to her majesty's title was declared treason, according to the laws of England. By the third, the uttering of words to the dishonour of her majesty was to be punished with the loss of ears and the confiscation of property.

The proclamation being finished, assent and obedience were signified by loud acclamations. A pillar was erected, bearing a plate of lead, on which the queen's arms were engraven ; and several of the merchants took grants of land, in fee farm, on which they might cure their fish, as they had done before.

A tax of provision, by her majesty's authority, was levied on all the ships. This tax was readily paid ; besides which, the admiral received presents of wine, fruits, and other refreshments, chiefly from the Portuguese.

This formal possession, taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in consequence of the discovery of the Cabots, is the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland and to the fishery on its banks.

As far as the time would permit, a survey was made of the country, one principal object of which was the discovery of mines and minerals. The mineralogist was a Saxon,

who is characterized as "honest and religious." This man brought to the admiral first a specimen of iron, then a kind of ore, which, on the peril of his life, he protested to be silver. The admiral enjoined secrecy, and sent it on board, intending to have it assayed when they should get to sea.

The company being dispersed abroad, some were taken sick and died; some hid themselves in the woods, with an intention to go home by the first opportunity; and others cut one of the vessels out of the harbour and carried her off.

On the twentieth of August, the admiral, having collected as many of his men as could be found, and ordered one of his vessels to stay and take off the sick, set sail with three ships, the *Delight*, the *Hind*, and the *Squirrel*. He coasted along the southern part of the island, with a view to make Cape Breton and the Isle of Sable, on which last he had heard that cattle and swine had been landed by the Portuguese thirty years before.

Being entangled among shoals and involved in fogs, the *Delight* struck on a sand-bank and was lost.* Fourteen men only

* [There is somewhat of sad romance in the narrative of this event. "The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without

saved themselves in a boat; the loss of the Saxon refiner was particularly noted,* and nothing farther was heard of the silver ore. This misfortune determined the admiral to return to England without attempting to make any farther discoveries, or to take possession of any other part of America. On his passage he met with bad weather. The Squirrel frigate, in which Sir Humphrey sailed, was overloaded on her deck; but he persisted in taking his passage in her, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends in the Hind, who would have persuaded him to sail with them.†

token of storme to ensue, and most part of this, Wednesday, night, like the swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of trumpets, with drummes and fifes; also winding the cornets, haughtboyea; and in the end of their jolitie, left with the battel and ringing of dolefull knels." "Thursday, the 29th of August," they perished.—Hakluyt, iii., 156.—H.]

* [A greater loss was that of Stephen Parmenius, a native of Buda, in Hungary, "who, of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance happening in this discoverie to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this orator and rare poet of our time."—Hakluyt, iii., 156. He addressed to Gilbert a poem on this voyage, in Latin hexameters, which is preserved —Ib., 138–143.—H.]

† [The Squirrel was of only ten tons burden, and Sir Humphrey had taken passage in her as "being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search in every harbour or

From the circumstance of his returning from his first voyage without accomplishing its object, it had been reported that he was afraid of the sea; had he yielded to the solicitation of his friends, the stigma might have been indelible.

When the wind abated and the vessels were near enough, the admiral was seen constantly sitting in the stern with a book in his hand. On the ninth of September he was seen for the last time, and was heard by the people in the *Hind* to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land."* In the following night the lights of his ship suddenly disappeared.† The people in the other vessel kept a good look-out for him during the remainder of the voyage. On the twenty-second of September they arrived, through much tempest and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was seen or heard of the admiral.‡

creeke, which a great ship could not doe."—Hakluyt, iii., 154.—H.]

* [A speech, says Captain Hayes, "well becoming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was."—H.]

† ["About the same time was swallowed up by the ocean Sir Humphrey Gilbert, knight, a quick and lively-spirited man, famous for his knowledge in matters relating both to war and peace."—Camden, *Eliz.*, 287.—H.]

‡ [Sir Humphrey Gilbert had two brothers, John and Adrian, both knighted, and both connected with schemes of maritime

While his zeal for the interest of the crown and the settlements of its American dominions has been largely commended, he has been blamed for his temerity in lavishing his own and other men's fortunes in the prosecution of his designs. This is not the only instance of a waste of property in consequence of sanguine expectations, which, though ruinous to the first adventurers, has produced solid advantages to their successors.

Dr. Forster has a remark on one of the incidents of this voyage which is worthy of repetition and remembrance. "It is very clear," says he, "in the instance of the Portuguese having stocked the Isle of Sable with domestic animals, that the discoverers of the New World were men of humanity, desirous of providing for such unfortunate people as

discovery and foreign plantation. Of Sir John some account is given by Belknap in the *Life of Gorges*. Adrian obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, dated February 6, 1583, granting him privileges in respect to a discovery of a passage to China by the north, northwest, or northeast. In this instrument he is described as "Adrian Gylbert, of Sandridge, in the county of Devon, gentleman," and the company associated with him (Raleigh and Sanderson) were styled "the colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the Northwest Passage." Voyages were made by Davis and others under the patronage of this company. Sir Walter Raleigh, in a letter to his wife in 1603, mentions Sir Adrian as owing him £600.—H.]

might happen to be cast away on those coasts. The false policy of modern times is callous and tyrannical, exporting dogs to devour them. Are these the happy consequences of the so-much-boasted enlightened state of the present age and refinement of manners peculiar to our time? Father of mercies, when will philanthropy again take up her abode in the breasts of men, of Christians and the rulers of this earth !”

VIII. WALTER RALEIGH AND RICHARD GRENVILLE.

THE distinguished figure which the life of Sir Walter Raleigh makes in the history of England renders unnecessary any other account of him here than what respects his adventures in America, and particularly in Virginia, of which colony he is acknowledged to have been the unfortunate founder.

[The account of Sir Walter Raleigh given by Dr. Belknap is almost confined to his proceedings in the early settlement of Virginia. The readers of these volumes may naturally expect some farther notice of "that rare, renowned knight, whose fame," says one of his contemporaries,* "shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea, with that great world which he historizeth so gallantly." He was a courtier of singular gallantry and grace, a scholar of varied learning and accomplishments, a soldier of chivalrous temper and unstained honour, a statesman of large views, an adventurer of great hardihood and

* [James Howel, in a letter to Carew Raleigh —H.]

enthusiasm. His long imprisonment, his patient suffering, and the hard measure of his death, have given a tender and touching interest to a history otherwise full of attractive incident. He lived, as the attorney-general told him in his last sentence, like a star, and like a star which troubleth the firmament he fell.*

Sir Walter Raleigh, or, as he wrote the name, Raleigh, was the fourth son of Walter Raleigh, Esq., of Fardel, near Plymouth. His mother was Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, Devonshire. He was thus half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. At the time of his birth, 1552, his father was residing at a farm called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, Devonshire, near the mouth of the Otter. Of his childhood we have no memo-

* [The principal memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh are those by Oldys, prefixed to his edition of Raleigh's History of the World; by Birch, in an edition of his Miscellaneous Writings; by Cayley, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1805; by Southey, in his Lives of English Admirals, vol. iv.; by P. F. Tytler, in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; and by Mrs. Thompson; all of which, unless it be Mrs. Thompson's, which we had not seen till this article was in press, are to be read with caution, as they show more or less clearly some bias in the writer. Southey, for example, we think, undervalues Sir Walter's character in respect of honesty and truth—H.]

rial. He became a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, about 1568, "and his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical learning under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors, and was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philosophy."* Lord Bacon has preserved an anecdote of him while here, which illustrates both his temper and his wit. A cowardly fellow, who was an excellent archer, asked him how he should revenge himself on one who had grossly insulted him. "Challenge him to a match of shooting," was the reply. It is uncertain how long he remained at the University, and still more uncertain whether, as some have asserted, he became a student of the Middle Temple. His active temper led him to mingle early in the business of life, and his ambition could hardly be satisfied with mere scholastic honours.

The state of public affairs, both in England and on the Continent, might well arouse a spirit less ardent and adventurous than that of Raleigh.

Sympathizing with the persecuted Protestants, the queen made a loan of money to the

* [Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.—H.]

Queen of Navarre, and permitted a company of one hundred selected volunteers, all gentlemen, under Henry Champernon, to go to France to her assistance. The motto on their banner was, *FINEM DET MIHI VIRTUS : "Let valour decide."* In this troop was young Raleigh, then but seventeen years of age. They arrived at the French camp in October, 1569, and were received by the queen and princes with great distinction. We cannot doubt, though no traces of it remain, that this body, animated alike by martial enthusiasm and religious zeal, did such gallant service as became gentlemen and soldiers. Raleigh remained in France till 1575, more than five years. We find here and there, in the writings of his late years, allusions to his residence there, which show that he studied with deep interest the stirring and troubled events of those sadly-agitated years. The whole period was crowded with marches and battles, sieges, negotiations, stratagems, treacheries, and massacres ; all that could captivate and instruct the youthful soldier and the future politician. He was present in the flight on the Plains of Montcontour, and witnessed, in the security of the British embassy, the fearful slaughter on St. Bartholomew's Day. An

attendant on the brilliant warfare of Coligny, he could not but learn the skilful use of arms ; and the daily companion of the noble and chivalrous warriors who so ably sustained the cause of the dreaded Huguenots, he added personal graces and the accomplishments of manner to his unsuspected courage. It was a school of valour and of discipline, and Raleigh was no negligent observer of its lessons.

On his return to England we find him a short time in the Middle Temple, whether as a student or mere resident is not clear, though probably the latter. He seems to have devoted his brief leisure to the Muses, and to have indulged in that kind of pastoral amatory poetry which was then so much in vogue. Some of his specimens which we have are of far more than ordinary merit. Yet an adventure in arms had more attractions for him, and in 1578 he accompanied Sir John Norris, with a body of English troops, to the Netherlands. A war was then raging there between Don John of Austria and the States, who hated him for his cruelty and feared him for his treachery. The queen assisted the States with men and money. Of Raleigh's service here we have no information. He was prob-

ably in the famous battle of Rimenant, in which the English, "being more sensible of a little heat of the sun than any cold fears of death," threw off their armour and clothes, and gained a victory in their shirts. He soon returned to England, and in 1579 joined the first and unsuccessful voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. This was the first in that long series of maritime adventures in which he afterward became so justly renowned.

Raleigh was now twenty-seven years of age. He had seen much and varied service, and had diligently profited by his experience and observation. Only five of the twenty-four hours, we are told, were devoted to sleep, four were regularly employed in study, and in his land and sea expeditions he voluntarily shared the labours, hardships, and hazards of the common soldier and sailor.* Abilities like his, thus trained, could not long remain in obscurity or unemployed.

Ireland was now ripe for insurrection. The Catholic population were oppressed, their chiefs excluded from office for their religion; the pope had claimed it as belonging to the Holy See, and scattered his emissaries all over it to excite the faithful to revolt; and

* [Cayley's Life of Raleigh, i., 17.—H.]

Philip of Spain stood ready with men and money to encourage the discontented and aid the insurgent. Lord Grey was sent over, August, 1580, as deputy, with orders to make quick and thorough work, and Raleigh served under him as captain of a troop of horse. The chronicles of the times make honourable mention of his services. His duties were difficult, often painful, and eminently perilous ; to capture a rebellious or suspected chieftain, to hunt outlaws, to disperse the hourly gatherings of half-naked but exasperated peasants, to burn, to pillage, to kill. He was in the country of an enemy who knew every pass, beset every road, and would have shot him down as they would a deer. Every day called for caution, skill, and desperate courage. His escapes were often marvellous, and his success not less so. When Smerwick was taken, the garrison were all put to the sword in cold blood, and Raleigh, as one of the captains having the ward of that day, was obliged to superintend the butchery. In the spring of 1581 he was temporarily in the commission for the government of Munster, and about the same time became a friend of Edmund Spenser, then residing at Kilcolman. But even this sympathy of poetic genius could

not relieve the weariness of a service which had become odious to him. "I have spent some time here," he wrote to the Earl of Leicester in August, 1581, "under the deputy, in such poor place and charge as, were it not for that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sheep." Not long after, probably, he was allowed to return from what he calls "this commonwealth, or, rather, common-wo."

The letter which we have quoted above proves some passages of regard between Raleigh and the noble Earl of Leicester. The favour of that powerful nobleman may have aided his early reception at court, though the report of his late services was enough to commend him to the notice of Elizabeth. His own abilities were more to him than any patronage. He is said to have owed his introduction to a singular and romantic incident. Fuller* relates that "this Captain Raleigh, coming out of Ireland to the English court in good habit (his clothes being then a considerable part of his estate), found the queen walking, till, meeting with a plashy place, she seemed to scruple going thereon. Presently Raleigh cast and spread his new plush cloak

* [Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Devon., i. 419.—H.]

on the ground, whereon the queen trod gently, rewarding him afterward with many suits for his so free and seasonable a tender of so fair a footcloth." This story is gravely told, and is in keeping with the temper and character of the parties. Certainly she soon admitted him to her court, and employed him in several honorary offices. He was one of the gentlemen appointed to attend Simier, the agent of the Duke of Anjou, to France; and when the negotiations for the queen's marriage with Anjou were broken off in 1582, he was selected, with Leicester, Sidney, and others, to form the duke's escort to Antwerp. He there enjoyed the honour of a personal acquaintance with the Prince of Orange, and brought a special message from him to the queen on his return. These affairs required no great ability or skill, yet a graceful habit and a pleasing address might make much of them. He received clearer tokens of royal favour in consequence of the trial before the Privy Council of a disagreement between him and Lord Grey, the late deputy of Ireland, of which Sir Robert Naunton* gives this account: "I am somewhat confident that among the second causes of his growth

* [Fragmenta Regalia, 109.—H.]

was the variance between him and my Lord-general Grey, which drew them both over to the council-table, there to plead their own causes ; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale, insomuch as the queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man and his parts, for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the lords ; . . . whether or not my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the queen, I do not determine ; but true it is, he had gotten the queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. And the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle." The queen was doubtless pleased with his ready wit, and perhaps wished to abate the hopes of some other aspirants for her favour. Naunton adds, " Those that he relied on began to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his."]

He was half-brother, by the mother's side, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and was at the expense of fitting out one of the ships of his squadron. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate of his brother, he persisted in his design of

making a settlement in America. Being a favourite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a patent, bearing date the 25th of March, 1584, for the discovering and planting of any lands and countries which were not possessed by any *Christian* prince or nation.*

About the same time the queen granted him another patent, to license the vending of wine throughout the kingdom, that by the profits thence arising he might be able to bear the expense of his intended plan of colonization. Farther to strengthen his interest, he engaged the assistance of two wealthy kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville and William Sanderson.†† They provided two barks, and, having well furnished them with men and provisions, put them under the command of Philip Amadas

* [This patent was but a renewal of the one granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, there being no material variation in the provisions.—Hazard, i., 33. Hakluyt, 135 and 243.—H.]

† [Sir William Sanderson was an eminent merchant of London, and had married a niece of Sir Walter. He was a principal member of the company which in 1585, 6, 7 sent Captain John Davis to discover a northwest passage to China. In that enterprise he took a deep interest, and adventured largely with his purse, and the chief direction and management of it was committed to him. Smith (Gen. Hist., p. 2) calls him “a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions.”—H.]

† Stith's History of Virginia, p. 7, 8.

and Arthur Barlow,* who sailed from the west of England April 27, 1584.

They took the usual route by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies, the reason of which is thus expressed in the account of this voyage written by Barlow,† “because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico between the Cape of Florida and Havana had been of greater force than we afterward found it to be.”

Taking advantage of the Gulf Stream, they approached the coast of Florida, and on the second of July came into shoal water, where the odoriferous smell of flowers indicated the land to be near, though not within sight. On the fourth they saw land, along which they sailed forty leagues before they found an entrance. At the first opening they cast anchor (July 13), and, having devoutly given thanks to God for their safe arrival on the coast, they went ashore in their boats, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

The place where they landed was a sandy island, called Wococon,‡ about sixteen miles

* [Barlow had served under Raleigh in Ireland.—Cayley, i., 24.—H.]

† Hakluyt, iii., 246.

‡ This island is generally supposed to be one of those which

in length and six in breadth, full of cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras, and other trees, among which were many vines loaded with grapes. In the woods they found deer and hares, and in the waters and marshes various kinds of fowl; but no human creature was seen till the third day, when a canoe, with three men, came along by the shore. One of them landed, and, without any fear or precaution, met the Europeans, and addressed them in a friendly manner in his own language. They carried him on board one of their vessels, gave him a shirt and some other trifles, and regaled him with meat and wine.

lie at the mouth of Albemarle Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Barlow, in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh, preserved by Hakluyt, says that he, with seven others, went in a boat "*twenty miles* into the River Occam, and *the evening following* came to an island called Roanoke, distant from the harbour by which we entered *seven leagues*; at the north end thereof was a village." Mr. Stith, who wrote the History of Virginia, and who acknowledges that he had, not seen this letter in English, but in a Latin translation, supposes that the Island Wococon must lie between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and that the distance might be 30 leagues. But it appears from Barlow's letter that the boat went *in one day*, and came in the evening to the north end of Roanoke: the distance is twice mentioned, once in miles and once in leagues. I see no reason, therefore, to admit Stith's conjecture in opposition to Barlow. Stith, however, appears to have been a very close and accurate inquirer, as far as his materials and opportunity permitted.

He then returned to his canoe, and, with his companions, went a fishing. When the canoe was filled, they brought the fish on shore and divided them into two heaps, making signs that each of the vessels should take one.

The next day several canoes came, in which were forty or fifty people, and among them was Granganimeo, brother of Wingina, king of the country, who was confined at home by the wounds which he had received in battle with a neighbouring prince. The manner of his approach was fearless and respectful. He left his boats at a distance, and came along the shore, accompanied by all his people, till he was abreast of the ship. Then advancing with four men only, who spread a mat on the ground, he sat down on one end, and the four men on the other. When the English went on shore armed, he beckoned to them to come and sit by him, which they did ; and he made signs of joy and friendship, striking with his hand on his head and breast, and then on theirs, to show that they were all one. None of his people spoke a word ; and when the English offered them presents, he took them all into his own possession, making signs that they were his servants, and that all which they had belonged to him.

After this interview the natives came in

great numbers, and brought skins, coral, and materials for dyes ; but when Granganimeo was present, none were permitted to trade but himself and those who had a piece of copper on their heads. Nothing pleased him so much as a tin plate, in which he made a hole and hung it over his breast, as a piece of defensive armour. He supplied them every day with venison, fish, and fruits, and invited them to visit him at his village, on the north end of an island called Roanoke.

This village consisted of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp palisades. When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was absent ; but his wife entertained them with the kindest hospitality, washed their feet and their clothes, ordered their boat to be drawn ashore and their oars to be secured, and then feasted them with venison, fish, fruits, and hommony.* While they were at supper, some of her men came in from hunting, with their bows and arrows in their hands, on which her guests began to mistrust danger ; but she ordered their bows to be taken from them, and their arrows to be

* Hommony is made of Indian corn beaten in a mortar and separated from the bran ; then boiled either by itself or in the broth of meat.

broken, and then turned them out at the gate. The English, however, thought it most prudent to pass the night in their boat, which they launched and laid at anchor. At this she was much grieved; but, finding all her solicitations ineffectual, she ordered the victuals in the pots to be put on board, with mats to cover the people from the rain, and appointed several persons of both sexes to keep guard on the beach during the whole night. Could there be a more engaging specimen of generous hospitality?

These people were characterized as "gentle, loving, and faithful; void of guile and treachery; living after the manner of the golden age; caring only to feed themselves with such food as the soil affordeth, and to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter."

No farther discovery was made of the country by these adventurers. From the natives they obtained some uncertain account of its geography, and of a ship which had been wrecked on the coast between twenty and thirty years before. They carried away two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteco, and arrived in the west of England about the middle of September.

The account of this discovery was so welcome to Queen Elizabeth, that she named the country *Virginia*, either in memory of her own virginity, or because it retained its virgin purity, and the people their primitive simplicity.

About this time Raleigh was elected knight of the shire for his native county of Devon; and in the Parliament which was held in the succeeding winter, he caused a bill to be brought into the House of Commons to confirm his patent for the discovery of foreign countries. After much debate, the bill was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent. In addition to which, the queen conferred on him the order of knighthood.*†

* Stith, p. 11.

† [The date of this honour is not precisely fixed. It was conferred probably in January, or early in February, 1585.—Cayley, i., 46, 47. The same year he received a different kind of honour. Captain John Davis sailed this summer for the discovery of the Northwest Passage, under the patronage of a company of which Adrian Gilbert was a chief member, and Sir Walter one of the associates. Davis anchored in $66^{\circ} 40'$, under a mountain, "the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold," which he named Mount Raleigh.

The rebellion in Ireland having been suppressed, the queen attempted to carry into effect a favourite scheme of peopling Munster with an English colony. About 600,000 acres of land in that province had accrued to the crown by recent forfeitures, the larger part of which was divided into seignories, and distrib-

A second expedition being resolved on, Sir Richard Grenville himself took the command, and with seven vessels,* large and small, sailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April, 1585.† They went in the usual course by the Canaries and the West Indies, where they took two Spanish prizes; and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, arrived at Wococon the 26th of June.‡

The natives came, as before, to bid them welcome and to trade with them. Manteo, whom they had brought back, proved a faithful guide, and piloted them about from place to place. In an excursion of eight days with their boats, they visited several Indian villages on the islands and on the main, adjoining to Albemarle Sound. At one place, called Aquascogok, an Indian stole from them a silver cup. Inquiry being made, the offender

uted among those especially who had been active in quelling the insurrection. Twelve thousand acres, in the counties of Cork and Waterford, were granted to Sir Walter Raleigh. This he planted at his own expense, and about 1602 sold it to Richard Boyle, afterward Earl of Cork.—H.]

* [These vessels were the Tiger and the Roebuck, each of 170 tons, the Lion of 100, the Elizabeth of 50, the Dorothie, a small bark, and two small pinnaces.—H.]

† Hakluyt, iii., 251.

‡ Mr. Stith mistakes in saying *May* 26, and Sir William Keith, who copies from him, adopts the same mistake.

was detected, and promised to restore it; but the promise being not speedily performed, a hasty and severe revenge was taken by the orders of Grenville; the town was burned, and the corn destroyed in the fields (July 16), while the affrighted people fled to the woods for safety. From this ill-judged act of violence may be dated the misfortunes and failure of this colony.

Leaving one hundred and eight persons to attempt a settlement, Grenville proceeded with his fleet to the Island of Hatteras,* where he received a visit from Granganimeo, and then sailed for England. On the 18th of September he arrived at Plymouth, with a rich Spanish prize which he had taken on the passage.

Of the colony left in Virginia,† Ralph Lane was appointed governor. He was a military man of considerable reputation in the sea-service. Philip Amadas, who had commanded in the first voyage, was admiral. They chose the island of Roanoke, in the mouth of Albemarle Sound, as the place of their residence, and their chief employment was to explore

* [Written in the journal Hatorask.—Hakluyt, iii., 253.—H.]

† [This colony remained in Virginia nearly a year, having arrived June 26, 1585, and sailed with Drake June 19, 1586.—H.]

and survey the country, and describe the persons and manners of its inhabitants. For these purposes Sir Walter Raleigh had sent John Withe, an ingenious painter, and Thomas Heriot, a skilful mathematician and a man of curious observation, both of whom performed their parts with fidelity and success.*

The farthest discovery which they made to the southward of Roanoke was Secotan, an Indian town between the rivers of Pamlico and Neus, distant eighty leagues.† To the northward they went about forty leagues, to a nation called Chesepeags, on a small river now called Elizabeth, which falls into Chese-

* The drawings which Mr. Withe made were engraven and printed at Frankfort (1590) by Theodore De Bry. They represent the persons and habits of the natives, their employments, diversions, and superstitions. From these the prints in Beverley's History of Virginia are copied.

Mr. Heriot wrote a topographical description of the country and its natural history, which is preserved in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. iii., 266. It was translated into Latin, and published by De Bry in his collection of voyages. It has been supposed that Raleigh himself came to Virginia with this colony. This is a mistake, grounded on a mistranslation of a passage in Heriot's narrative. It is thus expressed in English: "The actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh *therein employed*." Which is thus rendered in the Latin translation, "*qui generosum D. Waltherum Raleigh, in eam regionem comitati sunt*."—Stith, p. 22.

† [Governor Lane's narrative, in Hakluyt, iii., 255, says "by estimation, fourscore *miles*."—H.]

peag* Bay below Norfolk. To the westward they went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan River about forty leagues, to a nation called Chowanogs, whose king, Menatonona,† amused them with a story of a copper mine and a pearl fishery; in search of which they spent much time, and so exhausted their provisions that they were glad to eat their dogs‡ before they returned to Roanoke.

During this excursion their friend Gran-ganimeo died, and his brother Wingina§ discovered his hostile disposition towards the colony. The return of Mr. Lane and his party from their excursion gave a check to his malice for a while; but he secretly laid a plot for their destruction, which being betrayed to the English, they seized all the boats on

* [The word Chesepeak is said to signify in the Indian tongue "Mother of Waters."—Bosman's *Maryland*, 77, note.—H.]

† [Lane calls him Menatonon, and says that he was, "for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state." He writes the name of the province Chawanook, and adds that the town itself, in addition to the forces of the province, was able to send 700 fighting men into the field.—H.]

‡ [Lane calls it "Dogge's Porridge." After they had finished that dish, they had for one or two days "nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves."—H.]

§ [Wingina had now changed his name to Pemisapan, and the conspiracy is commonly spoken of as Pemisapan's.—H.]

the island. This brought on a skirmish, in which five or six Indians were killed, and the rest fled to the woods. After much jealousy and dissimulation on both sides, Wingina was drawn into a snare, and, with eight of his men, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the English.*

In a few days after Wingina's death, Sir Francis Drake, who had been cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and had received orders from the queen to visit this colony, arrived with his fleet on the coast, and, by the unanimous desire of the people, took them all off and carried them to England, where they arrived in July, 1586.†

Within a fortnight after the departure of this unfortunate colony, Sir Richard Gren-

* [This was on the first of June, 1586.—H.]

† [Hakluyt, iii., 265, mentions a voyage made in 1586, by a ship fitted out by Sir Walter at his own charge, for the relief of his colony in Virginia, which arrived at Cape Hatteras between the departure of Drake and the arrival of Grenville, and which, after an unsuccessful search, returned to England.

He was now rapidly growing in favour with the queen, and about this time was appointed by her seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall. He was also a partner in a voyage undertaken by the Duke of Cumberland to the South Sea, and sent two pinnaces to the Azores, which took several prizes.—Hakluyt, ii., 120.—H.]

ville arrived with three ships for their relief. Finding their habitation abandoned, and being unable to gain any intelligence of them, he landed fifty* men on the Island of Roanoke, plentifully supplied with provisions for two years, and then returned to England.

The next year (1587†) three ships‡ were sent, under the command of John White,§ who was appointed governor of the colony, with twelve counsellors. To them Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh, which he ordered them to build on the River Chesepeag, the northern extent of the discovery. After narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, they arrived at Hatteras on the 22d of July, and sent a party to Roanoke to look for the second colony of

* [Hakluyt says *fifteen* men, iii., 265, and again 282, 3, 4 Smith, p. 13, says "fiftie."—H.]

† [This year Sir Walter was made captain of the guard to her majesty, and lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall. He was also a member of the Parliament which met March 23d, 1587, and received from the queen a grant of the lands of Anthony Babington, which had been forfeited on account of his connexion with the conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots.—H.]

‡ [They carried one hundred and fifty colonists.—Hakluyt, iii., 280, 281.—H.]

§ [White sailed from Plymouth May 8th. His fleet consisted of "the Admiral, a shippe of 120 tunnes, a flie-boat, and a pinnesse."—Hakluyt, iii., 280, 281.—H.]

fifty men. They found no person living, and the bones of but one dead. The huts were standing, but were overgrown with bushes and weeds. In conversation with some of the natives, they were informed that the colony had been destroyed by Wingina's people in revenge of his death.

Mr. White endeavoured to renew a friendly intercourse with those natives, but their jealousy rendered them implacable. He therefore went across the water to the main with a party of twenty-five men, and came suddenly on a company of friendly Indians, who were seated round a fire, one of whom they killed before they discovered the mistake.

Two remarkable events are mentioned as happening at this time: one was the baptism of Manteo, the faithful Indian guide; the other was the birth of a female child, daughter of Ananias Dare,* one of the council, which, being the first child born in the colony, was named Virginia.

By this time (August 21) the ships had unloaded their stores, and were preparing to return to England. It was evident that a

* [Dare had married Eleanor, daughter of Governor White. The birth took place Aug. 18th.—H.]

farther supply was necessary, and that some person must go home to solicit it. A dispute arose in the council on this point, and, after much altercation, it was determined that the governor was the most proper person to be sent on this errand. The whole colony joined in requesting him to proceed, promising to take care of his interest in his absence. With much reluctance he consented, on their subscribing a testimonial of his unwillingness to quit the plantation. He accordingly sailed on the 27th of August, and arrived in England the following November. The nation was in a state of alarm and apprehension on account of the war with Spain, and of the invincible armada, which had threatened it with an invasion. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the queen's council of war,* as were also Sir Richard Grenville and Mr. Lane. Their time was wholly taken up with public consultations, and Governor White was obliged to wait till the plan of operations against the enemy could be adjusted and carried into execution.

* [Raleigh was at this time one of the gentlemen of her majesty's privy chamber, and his wine-patent seems to have been enlarged. This was continued to him till the close of Elizabeth's reign.—H.]

The next spring Raleigh and Grenville, who had the command of the militia in Cornwall, and were training them for the defence of the kingdom, being strongly solicited by White, provided two small barks, which sailed from Biddeford on the 22d of April, 1588. These vessels had commissions as ships of war, and, being more intent on gain to themselves than relief to the colony, went in chase of prizes, and were both driven back by ships of superior force, to the great mortification of their patron and the ruin of his colony.

These disappointments were a source of vexation to Raleigh. He had expended forty thousand pounds, of his own and other men's money, in pursuit of his favourite object, and his gains were yet to come. He therefore made an assignment of his patent (March 7, 1589) to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, among whom was Governor White, with a donation of one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia. Being thus disengaged from the business of colonization, he had full scope for his martial genius in the war with Spain.

His assignees were not so zealous in the prosecution of their business. It was not till the spring of 1590 that Governor White could

return to his colony.* Then, with three ships, he sailed from Plymouth, and, passing through the West Indies in quest of Spanish prizes, he arrived at Hatteras on the 15th of August. From this place they observed a smoke arising on the Island of Roanoke, which gave them some hope that the colony was there subsisting; on their coming to the place, they found old trees and grass burning, but no human being. On a post of one of the houses† they saw the word *Croatan*, which gave them some hope that at the island of that name they should find their friends. They sailed for that island, which lay southward of Hatteras; but a violent storm arising, in which they lost their anchors, they were obliged to

* [Governor White's account of this voyage is preserved in Hakluyt, iii., 287-295. The three ships were furnished "at the special charges of Mr. John Wattes, of London, marchant." They were the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, accompanied with two small shallops. They sailed from Plymouth March 20th, remained on the coast of Virginia but a few days, and reached home October 24th. Mr. White says this was his fifth voyage to Virginia, and complains bitterly, in his letter to Hakluyt, that "governors, masters, and sailors regarded very smally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, but wholly disposed themselves to secke after purchase and spoiles."—H.]

† [They found that the houses had been taken down, and the place on which they had been enclosed with a strong palisade, and the word Croatan "in fayre capitall letters graven on one of the chief trees or posts at the entrance."—White's Narrative, in Hakluyt, iii., 293.—H.]

quit the inhospitable coast and return home ; nor was anything afterward heard of the unfortunate colony.

The next year (1591) Sir Richard Grenville was mortally wounded in an engagement with a Spanish fleet, and died on board the admiral's ship, where he was prisoner.*

* [The heroism of his death deserves a particular narration. The following account of it is taken from Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, ii., 264 : "A squadron, under Lord Thomas Howard, which had been waiting six months at the Azores to intercept the homeward-bound ships from Spanish America, was there surprised by a vastly more numerous fleet of the enemy, which had been sent out for their convoy. The English admiral got to sea in all haste, and made good his retreat, followed by his whole squadron excepting the *Revenge*, which was entangled in a narrow channel between the port and an island. Sir Richard Grenville, her commander, after a vain attempt to break through the Spanish line, determined, with a kind of heroic desperation, to sustain alone the conflict with a whole fleet of fifty-seven sail rather than strike his colours. From three o'clock in the afternoon till daybreak he resisted, by almost incredible efforts of valour, all the force which could be brought to bear against him, and fifteen times beat back the boarding-parties from his deck. At length, when all his bravest had fallen, and he himself was disabled by many wounds, his powder also being exhausted, his small arms lost or broken, and his ship a perfect wreck, he proposed to his gallant crew to sink her, that no trophy might remain to the enemy. But this proposal, though applauded by several, was overruled by the majority: the *Revenge* struck to the Spaniards, and two days after her brave commander died on board their admiral's ship of his glorious wounds, 'with a joyful and quiet mind,' as he expressed himself, and admired by all his enemies themselves for his high spirit and invincible resolution."—H.]

Raleigh, though disengaged from the business of colonizing Virginia, sent five times at his own expense to seek for and relieve his friends ; but the persons whom he employed, having more profitable business in the West Indies, either went not to the place, or were forced from it by stress of weather, it being a tempestuous region, and without any safe harbour. The last attempt which he made was in 1602, the year before his imprisonment ; an event which gratified the malice of his enemies, and prepared the way for his death, which was much less ignominious to him than to his sovereign, King James I., the British Solomon, successor to Elizabeth, the British Deborah.*

This unfortunate attempt to settle a colony in Virginia was productive of one thing which will always render it memorable, the introduction of *tobacco* into England. Cartier, in

* As a specimen of the language of that time, let the reader take the following extract from Purchas :

" He [i. e., King James] is beyond comparison a meer transcendent, beyond all his predecessors, princes of this realm ; beyond the neighbouring princes of his own time ; beyond the conceit of subjects dazzled with so much brightness ; beyond our victorious *Deborah*, not in sex alone, but as peace is more excellent than war, and *Solomon* than David ; in this also that he is, and we enjoy his present sunshine."

his visit to Canada fifty years before, had observed that the natives used this weed in fumigation, but it was an object of disgust to Frenchmen. Ralph Lane, at his return in 1586, brought it first into Europe; and Raleigh, who was a man of gayety and fashion, not only learned the use of it himself, but introduced it into the polite circles, and even the queen herself gave encouragement to it. Some humorous stories respecting it are still remembered. Raleigh laid a wager with the queen that he would determine exactly the weight of smoke which issued from his pipe. This he did by first weighing the tobacco and then the ashes. When the queen paid the wager, she pleasantly observed that many labourers had turned their gold into smoke, but that he was the first who had converted smoke into gold.

It is also related that a servant of Sir Walter, bringing a tankard of ale into his study as he was smoking his pipe and reading, was so alarmed at the appearance of smoke issuing out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, and ran down to alarm the family, crying out that his master was on fire.

King James had so *refined* a taste, that he not only held this Indian weed in great abhorrence himself, but endeavoured, by proc-

lations and otherwise, to prevent the use of it among his subjects. But all his zeal and authority could not suppress it. Since his time it has become an important article of commerce, by which individuals in Europe and America, as well as colonies and nations, have risen to great opulence.

[We have thus far followed Raleigh in a course of nearly uniform prosperity, if not of constant success. He had become distinguished among his countrymen, and was high in the favour of the queen. Yet his career at court was not without its perplexities, and he sorely felt, from time to time, how easily his repose may be disturbed "who hangs on princes' favours." He found a rival there in the youthful and accomplished Earl of Essex, son-in-law of the late powerful Leicester. He had fallen under the suspicion of insincerity in his professed attachment to that nobleman, as appears from a letter written by him in vindication of himself as early as 1586. Whether a jealousy on this point was inherited by Essex, or whether a degree of personal dislike arose from their competition for the royal favour, we cannot determine. The unfriendliness certainly existed, and Raleigh was a sufferer by it. He had been engaged

in the unfortunate expedition, in the summer of 1589, to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, and for his good conduct in it had received from the queen the honour of a golden chain. Yet in August of the same year he suddenly withdrew to Ireland, evidently suffering under the royal displeasure. We have no knowledge of the cause of this change, except this imperfect notice in a letter of that date from Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon: "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the court, and confined him into Ireland: conjecture you the rest of that matter."

Here he renewed his friendship with Spenser, a beautiful episode in a life of restless activity. Spenser was then residing at Kilcolman, on the banks of the Mulla, where he had devoted his leisure to the composition of "the Faëry Queen." Raleigh's banishment was not of long duration, and on his return he brought Spenser to England, and proved an able and discerning patron. His feelings during this brief exile are described in Spenser's "Colin Clout's come Home again," which was dedicated to him ten years later. In that poem Raleigh is introduced as "the Shepherd of the Ocean," and the poet says ;

“ His song was all a lamentable lay,
Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia, the lady of the sea,
Which from her presence, faultless, him debarr’d.”

The first three books of the Faëry Queen were now published with his encouragement, and the “argument” is addressed “to the right noble and valorous Sir Walter Raleigh.”

This noble sonnet, addressed to Spenser on his great work, will give the reader no unfavourable idea of Raleigh’s poetic powers

“ Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay
Within that temple, where the vestall flame
Was wont to burne, and passing by that way
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tumber fair Love and fairer Vertue kept,
All suddenly I saw the Faëry Queene :
At whose approche the Lord of Petrarke wept,
And from henceforth those graces were not seene :
For they this queene attended, in whose steed
Oblivion laid him down on Laura’s herse ;
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And grones of buried ghosts the heavens did perse ;
When Homer’s spright did tremble all for grief,
And curst th’ accesse of that celestiall thiefe.”

In 1591 Sir Walter was busily engaged in preparing for an expedition to capture the Spanish fleet, which every year came richly laden with merchandise from their American possessions. So earnest were his endeavours, and so plausible his scheme of operations, that thirteen ships were equipped for

the enterprise by private adventurers, and two ships-of-war were added by the queen. She appointed Sir Walter general of the fleet, which sailed May 6, 1592. The next day, by a special messenger, he received letters from the queen containing his recall. He did not return till he began to despair of success, and left the expedition in charge of Sir John Burgh and Sir Martin Frobisher. Among other prizes they took the *Madre de Dios*, "of 1600 tons burthen, whereof 900 were merchandise."

Soon after his return he was arrested, having very probably been recalled for the purpose, and imprisoned in the Tower, for having carried on a criminal intrigue with one of the queen's maids of honour. The lady was imprisoned at the same time. She was Elizabeth, daughter of the statesman and ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and much celebrated for her beauty. After their release they were married, and his letters, with her efforts for him in his misfortunes, prove a rare degree of mutual affection and lasting happiness. During this confinement Sir Walter wrote a letter to Sir Robert Cecil,* which is too curious to be entirely omitted. It was written just as the queen was about to leave

* [Burghley State Papers by Murden, ii., 657.—H.]

London on a royal progress, and was clearly intended for her majesty's eye. It shows servility in the writer hardly more than the peculiar temper of Elizabeth, which could be touched by so gross flattery. "My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all! All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish, which, if it had been for her as it is by her, I had been too happily born." By virtue of such regrets, or for some better reason, Sir Walter was re-

L.—B B

leased in the latter part of September, though he seems not to have been completely restored to the queen's favour for several years. He is described in letters of this time as "hovering between fear and hope," and so late as September, 1594, as "in good hope to return into grace." Yet in 1593 he obtained of the queen a grant of the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where he for some time resided.

Sir Walter was a member of the Parliament which met in the spring of 1593, was an active member of several committees, and became distinguished for his eloquence and enlarged views of public policy and of national honour.

To reinstate himself in the favour of his royal mistress, and more rapidly advance his private fortunes, Sir Walter, with full faith in the reported infinite riches of El Dorado, prepared for an expedition into the unknown regions of Guiana. Dejection led him to meditate on new schemes of wealth, and the solitariness of the Tower had given an impulse to his imagination, and substance to his dreams.

The fleet for Guiana set sail Feb. 6th, 1595,* and arrived at Trinidad the 22d of

* [Sir Walter's narrative may be found in Hakluyt, iii., 631-666, and in Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*.—H.]

March. They found a company of Spaniards at Puerto de los Españoles, from whom, and from an Indian cacique who visited him, Sir Walter learned much of the resources and topography of the country. Suspecting the jealousy of the Spaniards, and unwilling to leave an enemy in his rear, he surprised and burned their city of St. Joseph, and detained the governor, Don Antonio de Berreo, a prisoner. He was farther induced to this course by a desire to punish the treachery of Berreo, who had, in violation of his promise, taken prisoners eight of Captain Whidden's men there in 1594. Whidden had been sent by Raleigh on a voyage of discovery. Berreo is described as "a gentleman well descended, who had long served the Spanish king in Milan, Naples, and the Low Countries, very valiant and liberal, of a great assuredness, and of a good heart." Though a captive, Raleigh treated him with the courtesies due to a soldier.

Here Sir Walter spent about a month, and learned that the region he was in search of was six hundred miles farther than he had supposed. He, however, concealed this from his company, and, leaving his ships at Curipan, on the Island of Trinidad, he embarked

one hundred persons, with provisions for one month, in a small galley, a barge, two wherries, and a ship's boat, and set out in this poor plight for the empire of Guiana. The voyage was wearisome beyond description, "being all driven to lie in the raine, and weather in the open aire, in the burning sunne, and upon the hard bords, and to dresse our meate, and to carry all maner of furniture in them (the open boats), wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury . . . that I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavoury and lothsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far more differing."

The troubles which they began thus to feel at the outset would have dissuaded any ordinary man from pursuing so difficult a scheme. Berreo, too, when informed of Sir Walter's purpose to penetrate into the interior of Guiana, "was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse," and represented to him the rivers as of difficult and perilous navigation by reason of shoals and flats, the way long, the current rapid, and the natives at once timid and hostile, and resolved to have no intercourse with Christians. But difficulties seemed only to animate his resolution,

and the prospect of dangers awakened his heroism.

After reaching the mouths of the river, they entered, May 22d, a branch, which, as true knights, they named, from a fancied resemblance, the River of the Red Crosse. In the labyrinth of waters made by the numberless courses of the great river near its mouth, interlacing in every direction, and seemingly flowing every way, they were confused, and might have wandered without end, so like were the islands, and so doubtful which was the main stream. The number of outlets is sixteen, the outermost three hundred miles apart. Near the mouth of the Red Crosse River accident put in their power an old man of the Ciawani, a tribe which lived on the bank. He was familiar with the course of the stream, and served them as pilot. They now "passed up the river with the flood, and anchored during the ebb, and in this sort went onward." For four days the tide aided them, "till they fell into a goodly river, the great Amana." After this they were forced to row with main strength against a violent current, "every gentleman and others taking their turnes to spell one another at the hour's end." They thus laboured on many days, "in despair and discomfort,

wearied, scorched, and doubtful withal, the air breeding great faintness, the current every day stronger, and ourselves growing weaker and weaker, our bread at the last, and no drinke at all." They were ready every hour to turn back, and kept up the spirits of the men only by "ordering the pilots to promise an end the next day, and used this so long that they were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to the next reach."

In this distress and famine they halted; and, at the instance of their guide, Sir Walter, with a small party, rowed up a branch of the Amana, more than forty miles, to an Indian village, in search of bread. They toiled, "heart-broken and tired, and ready to give up the ghost," from morning "till one o'clock past midnight," when they "saw a light and heard dogs bark at the village." They were kindly received by the few natives then at home, and got "good store of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke." This stream opened to them a new view of the country. Their course hitherto had been up a river thickly bordered with overhanging woods, and beset with prickles, bushes, and thorns. Here they looked out upon "plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and

greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose, and still as they rowed the deere came downe feeding by the water's side, as if they had beene used to a keeper's call. But, beside strange fishes and of marvellous bignes, for lagartos (alligators) it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents."

On their return "they went on their way up the great river, and again, when they were even at the last call for want of victuals," they came upon four canoes filled with natives, and three Spaniards, which they took, and "found in them divers baskets of roots, and great store of excellent bread, than which nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to them next unto gold." The Spaniards had been mining, and their instruments for the trial of metals, and such dust as they had refined, were taken. This renewed their hopes that the golden region was not far off. Sir Walter here took a new pilot from those who had guided the Spaniards, and "on the fifteenth day they discovered afarre off the mountains of Guiana, to their great joy;" and "a northerly wind, which blew very strong, brought them in

sight of the great River Oronoco, out of which the Amana descended," and "they ankered at the parting of the three goodly rivers." Here they went ashore on the invitation of Toparimaca, "the lord of that border," "where some of the captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant," and visited his town Arowocai, which "was very pleasant, with goodly gardens a mile compass round about it."

The next day they sailed on with an east wind, and found the river of varying breadth, from four to twenty miles, "with wonderfull eddies, divers shoals, rock, and many great islands," and wrought into huge billows by the wind. Passing by wide and rich plains, and sending out now and then parties to explore the banks, on the fifth day from their first sight of the mountains they arrived at the port of Morequito, three hundred miles from the sea. Here and in the neighbourhood they passed four days. From this place parties were sent abroad to search for the precious metals, and to reach, if possible, the mountains on the frontier of the great empire. Sir Walter accompanied one, to view "the strange over-falls of the River of Caroli," the noise of which they heard twenty miles off,

at Morequito. There appeared some ten or twelve falls, "every one as high over the other as a church tower." Hear him describe the tract they traversed: "I never saw a more beautifull countrey nor more lively prospects; hils so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand, easie to march on either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in every path, the birdes towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand severall tunes, cranes and herons, of white, crimson, and carnation, pearching in the river's side, the aire fresh easterly winde, and every stone that wee stouped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion." They were hospitably entertained by the natives; learned somewhat of the geography of the country; heard and believed stories of a tribe of men "whose heads appeare not above their shoulders;" were told of a rich silver mine, which, from the rise of the river, they could not reach; dug out with their daggers and fingers from the hard white spar a few specimens of minerals, "marcasite, and mother-of-gold, and stones like sapphires," and then turned their faces again to the eastward.

“The great city of Manoa” had eluded their grasp. Their farther progress was hindered, and their departure hastened by the summer rains. The smaller rivers “were raised with such speed, as, if they waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, they were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day ;” and the Oronoco “began to rage, and overflowe very fearfully.” Besides, “the menne began to crie out for want of shift,” having no change of clothes, and their single suits “thoroughly washt on their bodies for the most part tenne times in one day.” They passed down the river rapidly and without labour, and had several interviews with the chiefs who dwelt on its banks. Their hopes of much gold in some future enterprise were highly excited by the reports they heard and the few specimens they saw ; but their small number, their past labours and fatigue, all persuaded them to undertake nothing farther for the present. They encountered a violent storm at the mouth of the river, where they passed through imminent peril, “one faintly cheering another to showe courage,” and at length safely regained their vessels at Trinidad.

Such is a brief outline of a narrative which

Hume* says is "full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind." That historian's bias against the brave and unfortunate Raleigh is manifest to every reader of his history. Yet his sketch of Raleigh's narrative, compared with the narrative itself, shows that he had read the latter very carelessly, or would make him responsible for the truth of every rumour he reported, while Raleigh himself carefully distinguishes what he saw from what he heard. The attentive reader of Sir Walter's narrative will be struck with his extreme credulity, and make many allowances for an earnest enthusiasm and a poetic fancy, but will hardly find traces of a wilful purpose to deceive.

The evidence on which the expedition was projected shows a large faith and a visionary imagination, though the value of its indications is seen in the success of Cortez and Pizarro. The minds of men in general in that day, and of individuals two hundred years later, habitually entertained the notion of the El Dorado, a region rich beyond all human ex-

* [Chap. 41. In another place, Appendix B. to vol. vii., p. 384, 12mo ed., he boldly charges Raleigh with "impudent imposture"—H.]

perience in gold and gems, in the heart of South America. Though they doubted of particulars, they had full faith in the main. The Spaniards believed the way to this region was through the Oronoco, and had sent many expeditions to search it out: Antonio Sedenno, with five hundred men, in 1536; Jala alone in 1560; De Orsua, with four hundred, the same year; Orellana in 1542.* These expeditions were so far only successful as to encourage others. Berreo was now waiting for a re-enforcement from Spain to enable him to renew this enterprise. An earlier authority, and the source of them all, was the story of one Martinez, who, in the capacity of "master of the munition," had accompanied Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of St. Jago, in a voyage to this region in 1531. Ordas, with six hundred men and thirty horse, was said to have penetrated as far as Morequito, and was killed in a mutiny of his men. Martinez, for some negligence, was sentenced by Ordas to be executed, but, instead, was put afloat on the river alone in a canoe, taken up by the natives, carried through the country many days blindfolded, and at last to their capital, "the golden city

* [Hakluyt, iii., 690.—H.]

of Manoa." He reported that he was carried in blindfold, and travelled in it a day and a half before he reached the palace of the inca; that he remained there seven months, and saw there golden statues and shields, plates and armour of gold which they used in war, and many other tokens of vast wealth. He therefore named the country El Dorado, i. e., the golden. He told this on his return, and reaffirmed it on his deathbed to his confessor. This story was reported by Berreo, who was engaged in the same enterprise, and was doubtless believed by Sir Walter. Credulity was the fault of the age, and was more reasonable then than now, as every day brought new rumours of rich countries to be won by adventurous conquest, and grave historians coolly affirmed the most prodigious marvels.*

The reports that came to England with the company were received with much distrust. Little ore was brought to satisfy the public expectation, though of that which was brought, a part, at least, proved good on assay. Sir Walter was accused of false dealing, even of having lain hid in Cornwall all the time of the

* [See the passages from Gomara cited by Sir Walter.—Hackluyt, 634, &c.—H.]

voyage. From these suspicions he clears himself, with sad earnestness, in his letter to Howard and Cecil,* affirming that he had returned "a beggar and withered," and publishing his confidence in the merits and final success of the scheme, with arguments which, though they may have somewhat fanciful in them, prove the patriot and the hero. "The common souldier," says he, in his eloquent vindication, "shall fight for gold, and pay himself, insteede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broade, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde them more riche and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizarro in Peru; and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farr : extended beams of the Spanish nation." Men who could offer, and be touched by such inducements, would engage, with ready heart and resolute hope, in schemes which the commercial prudence of later times would scout as visionary, and turn away from as impracticable. The spirit of heroic adventure had

* [Prefixed to his narrative of his voyage to Guiana.—H.]

not yet given way to the more palpable benefits of a system of colonization, and the difficulty, danger, and vastness of an enterprise was still to many a charm of no less power than gold or precious stones.

But Sir Walter had large views of public policy. "The West Indies," he continues, "were first offered her majesty's grandfather by Columbus, a stranger in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and besides, it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This empire is made known to her majestie by her owne vassell, and by him that oweth to her more dutie than an ordinarie subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I have received to abuse her highnesse either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is already discovered, manie nations wonne to her majestie's love and obedience, and those Spaniards who have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged, and disgraced, which among those nations were thought invincible.... Whatsoever prince shall possesse it shall be greatest, and if the King of Spaine enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her majestie shall here-

by confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations as touching her great and princely actions The charge will only be in the first setting out, in victualling and arming ; for, after the first or second yere, I doubt not but to see in London a contractation-house of more receipt for Guiana than there is now in Sivill for the West Indies.”

The voyage to Guiana was undertaken partly, perhaps, with a view to restore himself to favour at court by a noble and conspicuous achievement, and partly “by absence to expel the passion of his enemies, and to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness.”* His success either way was but indifferent. The public expectation was greatly disappointed ; his enemies had time and free room to perfect their schemes against him ; and he was not, certainly not at once, received at court on his return, though “there were great means made” for it. But Raleigh’s enthusiasm for his favourite project was not without effect.

Immediately on his return he began to make preparations for a second expedition. The lord-treasurer adventured in it £500, and Sir Robert Cecil “a new ship, bravely fur-

* [Sir Robert Naunton.—H.]

nished." Two ships, the *Darling* and the *Discoverer*, were put under the charge of Laurence Keymis, who had gone with Raleigh in the former voyage. He sailed January 26, 1596, and returned in June of the same year. His narrative of the voyage is preserved in Hakluyt, iii., 672-687. He gained considerable knowledge of the coast and rivers, and made diligent inquiry for the position of Manoa. He sailed up the *Raleana*, as he named the *Oronoco*, as far as the mouth of the *Caroli*, where he found a company of Spaniards, with a village of some twenty houses, and a fort on a rocky island in the river. He went within, as he supposed, about fifteen miles of the gold mine, but was prevented from reaching it by fear of the Spaniards (who had left their town to plant an ambush on the passage leading to it), and returned after two days in the belief that they might easily have intercepted his company on their way down the river. He learned that the Spaniards were universally hated by the Indians; and, though he brought home none of the precious metals, he reported "that the *Ampagotos* have images of gold of incredible bigness." He reaffirmed the story of the headless men, and adds, "What I have heard

of a sort of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficulty to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appear fabulous." He appears to have been a shrewd and honest observer, and to have returned with a thorough conviction that success must yet crown the adventure. "Myself," he says, "and the remains of my few years I have bequeathed wholly to Raleigh, and all my thoughts live only in that action."

In 1596 Sir Walter was engaged in the famous expedition to Cadiz. The queen had been led to fear that Philip was seriously and earnestly preparing for war with England, if not for another attempted invasion. She resolved to prevent the latter contingency at least, by attacking him in his own ports. For this purpose a fleet of seventeen ships-of-war and about one hundred and thirty smaller vessels was fitted out, and seven thousand soldiers and about the same number of seamen were embarked. The Earl of Essex commanded the land forces, and Lord Charles Howard, of Effingham, the fleet. Sir Walter Raleigh had the command of one of the four squadrons into which the fleet was divided, and was a member of the council of war. He

did not reach Plymouth, from which they were to sail, till some days after the other commanders. The cause of his delay is not known, though it occasioned some distrust and dissatisfaction at the time; being suspected to be, as Anthony Bacon wrote to his brother Sir Francis, "upon pregnant design, which will be brought forth very shortly." Some dissensions between him and his brother-officers, which were ascribed to his hostility to Essex, happened by the way, which were soon, in appearance, reconciled.

The fleet sailed on the first of June, and came to anchor near Cadiz on the twentieth. Sir Walter has left a "relation of the Cadiz action,"* which we follow. The commanders, in Sir Walter's absence, had determined first to attack the town. At his suggestion, however, they concluded first to attempt the ships and fort which occupied and defended the harbour. At his own request, he was directed to board the "great galleons of Spain," in fly-boats to be sent up for that purpose. The Spanish men-of-war were arranged in several lines, with "seventeen galleys to in-

* [Published in the "genuine remains" of Sir Walter Raleigh, App. No. ii., p. 19-25 to the abridgment of his History of the World, by his grandson, Philip Raleigh.—H.]

terlace them, as occasion should be offered," in such manner as to cover the entrance "as a bridge." The English fleet, in entering, met a "fort called the Philip, which beat and commanded the harbour. There were also ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the sea, and divers pieces of culverin, which scoured the channel," and then the galleys. Sir Walter's ships entered foremost, and answered the fire of the fort and the galleys, "to each piece a blurr with a trumpet, esteeming them as but wasps," and aiming at "the St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain."

The other ships came up in order, but Raleigh "held single in the head of all." The fight continued about three hours, when, the fly-boats having not come up, he "laid out a warp by the side of the Philip to shake hands with her," when the Spaniards, perceiving it, slipped their cables and ran their ships ashore. Eight only of the English ships were engaged, and of the Spaniards fifty-five. The soldiers were then landed, and the town taken "with a sudden fury and with little loss." In this action Sir Walter received a grievous wound in the leg, which prevented him from taking a part in the sacking of the town. The

conclusion of his "relation" curiously shows how wars were carried on in those days. "The town of Cales was very rich in merchandise, in plate, and money : many rich prisoners given to the land commanders ; so as that sort are very rich. Some had prisoners for 16,000 ducats, some for 20,000, some for 10,000 ; and, besides, great houses of merchandise. What the generals have gotten, I know least ; they protest it is little. For mine own part, I have gotten a lame leg and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usance ; but I have possession of naught but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had possest myself of some house." The contemporary testimonies to the valour and skilful conduct of Sir Walter in this action are abundant. The army re-embarked July 5, and reached Plymouth August 10.

On his return from the expedition to Cadiz, Sir Walter prepared for a third voyage to Guiana. He fitted out for this purpose a stout pinnace, the *Wat*, and placed it under the command of Captain Leonard Birnie. A relation of the voyage by Thomas Masham, a

gentleman of the company, is preserved in Hakluyt, iii., 692–697. They left Weymouth December 27, 1596, and returned to Plymouth June 28, 1597, having explored a large extent of the coast of Guiana, and entered many of the rivers. They brought back, however, little information, except the geography of the coast, and the report of the natives that those who dwelt in the interior had “great store of gold :” enough to excite curiosity and stimulate to farther enterprise, but nothing to gratify them.

It was not till his return from the expedition to Cadiz that he was completely restored to the queen’s favour. He was powerful in the politic friendship of Sir Robert Cecil, now secretary of state. The influence of Essex, his enemy, was declining. He was employed to effect a reconciliation between these two noblemen. They were all rivals, though seemingly on the most intimate terms. A contemporary letter-writer, under date of June 2d, 1597, says : “Yesterday Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to the queen by Sir Robert Cecil, who used him very graciously, and gave him full authority to execute his place as captain of the guard, which immediately he undertook. In the evening he rode abroad with the

queen, and had private conference with her; and now he comes boldly to the privy-chamber as he was wont." Though the displeasure under which he had long laboured was removed, Sir Walter made little progress in the preferments he desired. He was anxious to be made a baron, to be chosen vice-chamberlain, to be called to the privy-council. In all these points his wishes were steadily evaded or declined. The only post he gained, from a mistress who bestowed honours with cautious jealousy even on her favourites, was the government of Jersey, with a grant of a manor in the same island. His commission was dated August 26, 1600.

Meanwhile, in 1597, a great fleet was equipped for what was called the Island Voyage. It consisted of 120 ships, and was designed to intercept the Plate-fleet near the Azores. Essex was commander-in-chief, and Raleigh rear-admiral. They sailed from Plymouth August 17. Being disappointed of the fleet, it was determined, in a council of war, that Essex and Raleigh should jointly attack Fayal. Departing from Flores, the place of their first rendezvous, the two squadrons were accidentally separated, and Raleigh arrived first. Having waited two days for Essex, and find-

ing that the enemy were busily completing their preparations for defence, he held a council of his officers, in which it was decided that, if Essex did not arrive the next day, it would become Sir Walter's duty to make the attack alone, and without farther delay. On the fourth day, the earl having not yet come, Sir Walter followed the decision of the council, and, landing with a small portion of his force, took possession of the town, with slight loss. The next day Essex arrived, and was much exasperated that Raleigh had dared to make the attempt without him. He had long been jealous of Sir Walter, and naturally conceived himself injured, and deprived of an occasion of honour by the forwardness of one whom he hated. Several of the officers who had been concerned in the enterprise were cashiered and confined; and it was only on concessions and submissions made by Raleigh, at the instance of Lord Howard, that the earl's indignation was for the time appeased. The earl's proceedings were, however, "much mistaken in England, and Sir Walter gained large additions to his reputation for military skill and experience at sea."

The career of the brave and popular, but impetuous and hasty Earl of Essex was now

drawing to its close. He had provoked the queen's displeasure by various rash sayings and actions ; and, on his untimely return from his government of Ireland, he was arrested by her order, and treated with unexpected severity.

Despairing of a restoration to her majesty's favour, he formed the wild scheme of raising an insurrection in the city of London, of seizing the queen's person, and expelling by force his enemies from the court. The plan was communicated by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a partisan of Essex, to Sir Walter Raleigh, and by him, it is supposed, to the queen. The attempted rising proved a failure, and Essex was imprisoned, and subjected to the power of his enemies. In this number he counted Raleigh ; and, as one of the pretexts of his rebellion, had caused a rumour to be circulated that Cobham and Raleigh were plotting against his life. This charge was amply refuted by Blount, a creature of Essex's, who testified on his trial that this rumour was only "a word cast out to colour other matters."

While, however, the fate of Essex was in suspense, Sir Walter wrote a letter to Sir Robert Cecil,* which has been used in later

* [Burghley State Papers, i., 811.—H.]

times to prove his malice against Essex, and an indecent anxiety for his death. Raleigh was doubtless his enemy, and would have been glad to have him out of the way; but the letter bears, and I think requires, a less harsh construction, and recommends a lasting imprisonment or degradation perhaps, but not an execution. "The less you make him," he says, "the less he shall be able to harm you and yours; and if her majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person Look to the present, and do you wisely Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny. Let the queen hold Bothwell while she hath him; he will ever be the canker of her estate and safety I have seen the last of her good days, and all ours, after his liberty." The advice here given is clearly to crush the earl, and it may have been cautiously worded, so as to urge Cecil to accomplish his death. Raleigh was present as captain of the guard at the trial and execution of Essex, and a report was then spread that he attended the execution to gratify his hatred by the sight of his enemy's suffering. Certainly his supposed connexion with the death of Essex added to his former unpopularity. It was a misfortune to

him in another way. The power of Cecil had hitherto been checked by the power of Essex. Now Cecil became absolute, and could exert, without division, his influence and intrigues against his only remaining and less powerful rival.

Such was Raleigh's own view of it in his later years. In his speech on the morning of his execution, he said, referring to the death of Essex, "After his fall I got the hatred of those who wished me well before ; and those who set me against him, set themselves afterward against me, and were my greatest enemies."

Sir Walter sat in Elizabeth's last Parliament, which met October 27, 1601, as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall, and was distinguished by his abilities as a debater. Of several speeches which have been briefly reported, the one in opposition to the act for sowing hemp shows more liberal views than then prevailed touching the protective policy of government. "For my part," said he, "I do not like this constraining of men to manure or use their grounds at our wills, but rather let every man use his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion."

The queen died in March, 1603, and with her the honours and hopes, but not the fame, of Sir Walter. Her successor, James I., ascended the throne with strong prejudices against him, which had been originated by the hatred of Essex, and fomented by the crafty insinuations of Cecil. It must be added that Raleigh was generally very unpopular. We may suppose him to have been little less haughty to his equals and inferiors than he was submissive and subservient to the queen. His ambition, which was never concealed, was commonly believed to be grasping and unscrupulous, and his credit for veracity and truth seems not to have been of the highest order. Sir Robert Naunton says, "We are not to doubt how such a man would comply to progression;" and his preface to the account of his first, and his apology for his last voyage to Guiana fully show the distrust with which his representations were received. How far this prevailing unpopularity of Sir Walter may have influenced the conduct of James, we do not know. An essential difference of character and views between that monarch and Raleigh may have contributed to perfect a dislike which was early expressed and hardly ever concealed.

James was timid and pacific, Raleigh brave and adventurous, "addicted to foreign affairs and great actions."* The favourite policy of James was to conciliate the court of Spain; Raleigh had fought against and spoiled the Spaniards, and cordially disliked them for their power at sea. Raleigh was a scholar and a poet, James was a theologian and a pedant. James could hardly appreciate the character of Raleigh, and Raleigh could not sympathize with the character of James.

The poison began speedily to work. Raleigh at first received such favourable notice from the king as to encourage his hopes of royal favour; but, one after another, his offices and privileges were taken away, and in less than three months after the king entered England he was arrested on a charge of high treason. He was charged with a design to take away the king's life and bring the Lady Arabella Stuart to the throne; with having negotiated with the Spanish ambassador for the means of carrying on the plot, and having received a pension for his aid and services. The whole pretended plot is at war with the known habits, feelings, and opinions of Ra-

* [A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles.—*Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iv., p. 58, 4to, 1745.—H.]

leigh, and sustained by evidence too feeble and slight not only to prove legal, but even moral guiltiness. The only fact established was an offer from Count Aremberg of a pension, or the sum of 8000 crowns, for what purpose does not appear, and which was not accepted. The only witness, Lord Cobham, a vain, weak man, who was never confronted even with the prisoner, made his accusation in a fit of passion, and retracted it again and again, pronouncing Raleigh utterly and entirely innocent. The whole case was too weak to have convicted any one of the pettiest larceny. Yet Raleigh was found guilty by the verdict of the jury, and, it would seem, with the full consent of the court,* which

*[An analysis of the evidence on which this most extraordinary conviction was grounded, such as would satisfy the reader, would be too long, and require too much detail to be inserted here. It may be found very fully given in Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, in Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., the *State Trials*, vol. i. and ii., and in Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*. The last-named writer attempts (Appendix F.) very plausibly to prove that the whole plot was a device of Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Henry Howard by which to get rid of Raleigh. The whole case shows that there was a determination in some powerful quarter that he should be put out of the way. 🍷

Cobham was examined ten times touching the conspiracy, and varied his story almost as many times, and yet in the most of them he exculpated Raleigh. No one who knows the feeble, cowardly character of this nobleman, can doubt that his confession

was made up of cold friends and secret enemies.

The demeanour of Raleigh on his trial was such as became him. With the firmness of innocence and with manly spirit he bore the coarse and brutal invective of Coke, and the hardly less rude taunts of Popham, and the studied insincerity of Cecil;—claiming his rights with Saxon boldness, yet patiently submissive to the authority which tried him. Sir Dudley Carleton, who was an eyewitness of the trial, in a letter* to John Chamberlain, dated Nov. 27th, 1603, describing it, testifies that “he answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and judgment, that, save it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that he ever spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that, were not an ill name

on the scaffold was made under the promise that his life should be spared, and was the meanest part in this solemn farce.

It has always seemed to me a curious feature of this pretended plot, that none but Raleigh and Cobham were imagined to be privy to it. Their own means and influence were certainly inadequate, and yet there was no suspicion that any other person had any connexion with it.—H.]

* [Preserved in the Hardwicke Papers, vol. i., p. 378, seqq. Compare the account of the conspiracy by Sir Robert Cecil, in a letter of December 1st, 1603, to Sir Thomas Parry.—Cavley, ii., 59.—H.]

half hanged, in the opinion of all men he had been acquitted." He adds that a Scotsman who witnessed the proceedings "said that whereas, when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life."*

But ability, eloquence, even innocence, so powerful over disinterested spectators, had no effect on a hostile court and a pliant jury; and still less when they believed, from too sure indications, that the surest way to raise themselves was to destroy their victim. The trial took place at Winchester, Nov. 17th, 1603, and the sentence was duly pronounced, condemning him to the horrible penalties of treason. "Lost" was he, as he said in a letter to the king, "for hearing a vain man; for hearing only, and never believing or approving." He was for some time detained at Winchester, where he waited in daily ex-

* [This was not the impression of a single person. Carleton adds, "Never was a man so hated and so popular in so short a time." Among other testimonies that it was not singular, we have this in a letter of Sir Walter, written at the close of his imprisonment to Sir Ralph Winwood, that the Prince Henry, the queen, and the King of Denmark had petitioned in his favour. "The wife, the brother, and the son of a king do not use to sue for men suspect."—H.]

pectation of death, the king having, with a refinement of cruelty, taken care that he should be informed that the warrant for his execution had been prepared.

During this interval of suspense he wrote a touching farewell letter to his wife :

“ You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead ; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess ; let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And, seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself. . . . I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death ; but by your travail seek to help your miserable fortunes and the right of your poor child.* Thy mournings cannot avail me ; I am but dust.

. . If you can live free from want, care for no more ; the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him ;

* [Walter, whom he lost at Guiana. Carew was born afterward, in the Tower.—H.]

and therein shall you find true and lasting riches and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. . . . When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men and their affections. . . . I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade from marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it: for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death in all his misshapen and ugly forms. . . . Written with the dying hand of some time thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown—yours that was, but now not my own,

WALTER RALEGH."

But the axe, by which he expected speedily to suffer, was to be suspended over him for years. To complete this miserable farce, Cobham and Grey were reprieved at the block, and Raleigh was remanded to the Tower to await the king's pleasure.

We have followed the career of Raleigh as a soldier, a courtier, a discoverer, a politician. We are now to look upon him in a scene more trying than were they all. Few men can bear gracefully the weariness of a long imprisonment; fewer still whose habits have been as active, and whose temper so adventurous as his. He was shut out from almost all that had been the delight of his former life; there were no more campaigns or voyages, masques or intrigues of court. Yet his versatile powers sustained him patiently and cheerfully through. His faithful wife and son were not excluded. A few attendants were allowed him. Thomas Heriot remained near his person, and the few friends whom his merits and misfortunes made might sometimes solace him by their visits. He turned again for relief to his books, which he had always loved, and which had been his companions in his busiest hours. Poetry, philosophy, history, politics, chymistry, by

turns occupied his attention. He converted a small house in the garden belonging to the Tower into a laboratory, and "spent all the day in distillations." Among other proofs of his ingenuity and success was a famous cordial, for which he made the recipe, and which has since gone by the name of Sir Walter's cordial. Here he wrote, too, most of those works which have gained him a reputation, hardly surpassed by his fame as a soldier and discoverer.* Foremost among which, in the judgment of posterity, is his *History of the World*. Whether we consider the vastness of the scheme, and the scanty resources which his imprisonment allowed him for its execution, the abundant learning everywhere displayed in it, the nervous and elegant style, the exuberant fancy, and the sad yet patient morality which characterize it, we cannot but judge it one of the most remarkable literary productions the world has ever seen.

* [The miscellaneous literary productions of Sir Walter are very numerous, and, until a critical examination shall have finally decided on their authenticity, we may safely, perhaps, follow Cayley, who gives a list of them, amounting in number to thirty-two.—*Life of Raleigh*, ii., 186. More recently, a collection of his works, designed to comprise them all, has been published at Oxford, 8 vols. 8vo.—H.]

The walls of the Tower, though they may keep out friends, cannot shut out misfortune. During the seventh year of Sir Walter's sojourn there, his estate at Sherborne, which he had, before his evil days had come, settled on his son, was "lost in the law for want of a word." James wanted it for his new favourite, Carr; the instrument of conveyance was examined, and, some words having been omitted by the inadvertence of the copyist, it was declared void, and the estates passed to a worthless minion.*

A severer blow to Raleigh was the death of Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, who loved him for his virtues and pitied him for his sufferings. He used to say "that no king but his father would keep such a bird in a cage." A strong affection had grown up between them, and Raleigh wrote several works at his instance and for his use.† So long as

* [As a recompense the king gave him £8000, a sum not much greater than the annual rent of the estate. His son Carew endeavoured to gain a restoration of this estate, but King James said "he appeared to him like the ghost of his father," and the remark drove him from the court. King Charles had promised that the present possessors should not be disturbed, and would not consent to his restoration in blood without his formally renouncing all title to Sherborne.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles.—H.]

† [Birch's Life of Prince Henry, 235, 236, and 392. See also Lord Somers's Tracts, i., 412.—H.]

this noble young prince lived, he had good hopes of liberation. His early death was a double loss to Sir Walter, in his present enjoyment and in his expectations of the future. He speaks of it* as "the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter."

Yet death did not select his friends only. Sir Robert Cecil, his bitterest enemy, had also passed away from earth, less regretted than the man whom he had forsaken and persecuted. The influence of Carr was giving way before the rising favour of Villiers. Sir Ralph Winwood, not a great, but an honest man, was now secretary of state.

Raleigh had long entertained the wish to be allowed to prosecute his discoveries in Guiana. From time to time he had sent thither for information, and some of the natives of that country had been brought to conference with him in the Tower. He had received what he asserted to be satisfactory evidence of the existence of a gold mine there, which, if at liberty, he would work. Cecil had rejected his applications to this effect, but Winwood listened to him. Nothing was needed but a whim to secure the king's con-

* [In his *History of the World*.—H.]

sent. This was supplied by the influence of Villiers, and that influence was purchased by the payment of £1500 to his two uncles; and finally, after twelve years' delay, James granted to the simple asking of a favourite what he had so long refused to humanity and justice. Sir Walter was released March 17, 1616.

He now devoted himself, with an ardour augmented by his long restraint, to his cherished scheme of a golden expedition to Guiana. He appropriated to this purpose the £8000 he had received for his estate at Sherborne; and, to further the same, his wife sold her estate for £2500. He thus staked his fortune, as well as his reputation, on this issue. He built at his own expense a ship, the *Destiny*, which mounted thirty-six guns and carried two hundred men. Encouraged by his zeal, many merchants and private adventurers flocked to join the enterprise. After some opposition from Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose objections to it as a piratical scheme against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies seem to have been easily removed, Raleigh received a commission, dated Aug. 26th, 1616, under the privy seal, appointing him commander of the fleet

and governor of the new country. The fleet, consisting of fourteen sail, was ready in the spring of 1617, and on the 28th of March dropped down the Thames, and, having been long detained by storms, reached Guiana on the 12th of November.

Here Raleigh was taken severely ill, and, being unable to lead the expedition up the river in person, gave the command of five ships and some three hundred men for that purpose to Captain Keymis, who had explored the country under his directions in 1596. His orders to Keymis were to penetrate to the mine, and bring away at least a few baskets of the ore, to satisfy the king that the mine was not a mere dream; and, in case he should be attacked, to repel force by force. The five vessels sailed December 10th, and soon reached Santa Thome, a garrisoned town of 240 houses, built by the Spaniards on the right bank of the river. Keymis landed in the night, and took his position between the town and the mine. During the night they were attacked by the Spaniards, whom they repulsed and pursued to Saint Thomas, which they entered. The governor of the town, Palameque, was slain, and the English, galled by shots from the houses, set it on fire

and consumed it. Keymis set out immediately with a small party for the mine, and on the route was attacked by a body of the fugitive Spaniards and forced to retreat, with some loss. By this disaster he was so much discouraged that he abandoned the town and hastily sailed back to join his general. Soon after his return, mortified by his failure, and stung by the indignant reproaches of Raleigh, Keymis committed suicide.

The enterprise had thus been frustrated, and Raleigh thought it not prudent, or was not in a condition to resume it. Disappointed and sad, he turned away from a region where so many bright hopes had faded, set sail for Newfoundland, and, after a brief stay there, bent his course for England. The news of his defeat and of the burning of Santa Thome had arrived there before him ; the resentment of the Spanish ambassador had been strongly expressed ; and James at once published a proclamation, inviting all who had any knowledge of his doings to testify before the privy-council, and wrote to the King of Spain, submitting it to his discretion whether Raleigh should receive his punishment in England or in Spain. His fate was decreed without trial or reply, and this indecent haste was allowed to gratify the court of Spain.

The connexion of Gondomar and the Spaniards with the death of Raleigh was too important to be passed without some notice. Many circumstances concur to show a long-cherished purpose, on their part, to bring him to the block. He had long been their avowed enemy, and their most formidable one in England. He had fought and conquered them, spoken against them in Parliament, and written against them with profound wisdom and bitter hatred. With his dislike was mingled somewhat of contempt. "It were," he had said,* "a horrible dishonour to be overreached by any of those dry and subtle-headed Spaniards." The dislike and suspicion seem to have been mutual. From the moment of his entering upon the plan of his last voyage to Guiana, every particular of his movements was carefully communicated to the Spanish court. These particulars were at once sent to the Spanish governors in America. In the plunder taken at Santa Thome were letters from the King of Spain referring to his expedition, with a minute account of his course and armament, and dated before his departure from the Thames.† So

* [In his Discourse on the Marriage of the Prince of Wales.—H.]

† [See the Hardwicke State Papers, i., 398.—H.]

completely was James, whose heart was now set on the Spanish match, under the influence of Gondomar, and Raleigh an object of watchful jealousy.

James seems to have felt that the recent acts of Sir Walter would hardly justify his execution. He had ample proof of his sincere belief in the existence of the gold mine: he must have known that in the affair of Santa Thome the Spaniards were the aggressors, and he was obliged to resort to conjectures, assertions, and remote circumstances to make out anything like a case of intended depredation and plunder. Accordingly, from the day of his arrest till his final sentence, he was surrounded with spies, and beset with every snare that might entrap him into an unwary confession, or some act that might be construed into guilt. He was arrested when on his way to London by his false kinsman Sir Lewis Stukely, who proposed and thwarted several plans for his escape. Manourie, a Frenchman, was also employed to aid in this perfidious business. After he was confined in the Tower, Sir Thomas Wilson was appointed his keeper, and secretly commissioned as a spy. Learned but mean, and refined but cruel, he played his part well, and daily

reported to the king the petty items of information he had succeeded in extracting from his illustrious prisoner. His letters to his wife were intercepted to furnish matter of accusation, and read by the king. Yet there was on his part no confession or intimation of guilt. The only act which could be thought to look that way was his attempt to escape—half formed and speedily repented of—an act springing, as he said in his letter to the king, “from a life-saving natural impulsion, without an ill intent.”

But the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta must be effected; the Spanish court were urgent; and delay, which was found ineffectual for the purpose of crimination, was now useless. The only question remaining was under what form of law Sir Walter might most properly, to save the appearance of justice, be brought to the scaffold. Several devices were proposed and rejected. The new charge against him must not be made the ground of his sentence, for that charge would not bear examination. The king, in the plenitude of his wisdom, was at fault. It was finally decided that the former sentence should be revived, and that he should be brought, on a writ of *Habeas*

Corpus, before the judges of the King's Bench, to give answer why that decree, which had slumbered now fifteen years, should not be executed. "He was condemned," says his son Carew, "for being a friend to the Spaniards, and lost his life for being their bitter enemy." He was brought up Oct. 24th, 1618, and interrupted in his defence with the information that no plea could be admitted except special words of pardon: whereupon he threw himself upon the king's mercy. There was no mercy for him, and on the 28th he was again brought to the bar to receive final sentence. On his return to prison, he was told he must prepare to die the following morning. The sentence was received with calmness, and on his way back to the prison he said cheerfully to the friends who were with him, that the world was but a larger prison, from which some are every day selected for execution. Hasty as the summons was, neither did his wonted fortitude forsake him, nor did the consolations of religion fail him.

The evening before the day that was to end his life was passed by him in a careful preparation for the life to come. The few items of business which yet remained to him were

arranged. About midnight his wife, whose love was as tender as it had been faithful, took the last farewell. When she told him that his remains had been placed at her disposal, "It is well, Bess," said he, with a smile, "that thou mayst dispose of that dead thou hadst not always the disposing of when alive." Before composing himself to sleep, he wrote a few memoranda touching the false reports and charges against him, and, turning to his devotions, wrote on a blank leaf of his Bible these lines :

Even such is Time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us with but age and dust ;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days !
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.

Early the next morning he received the holy communion from the hands of the Dean of Westminster, expressing a firm assurance of the love and favour of God, and a free forgiveness of all his enemies, and by name of those who had betrayed him. He showed no fear of death, and yet made no parade of courage, but rather manifested a truly Christian resignation and cheerfulness. After

these religious services he partook heartily of the breakfast prepared for him, smoked a pipe of tobacco, as his custom was, and drank a cup of sack. Being asked if he liked it, he replied, "Ay, 'tis good drink, if a man might tarry by it." He then withdrew to arrange his dress, which was a plain but rich mourning suit of black satin and velvet.

As the hour of nine drew near, he was led to the place of execution in the Old Palace Yard. A large crowd had assembled to witness the heroism of his death, and among them many nobles and knights who were his friends. As he ascended the scaffold he saluted them gracefully, and proclamation for silence being made, he addressed them in a short speech, vindicating the various passages of his life, and especially that touching the death of the Earl of Essex, and expressing his Christian hope in the article of death.* He

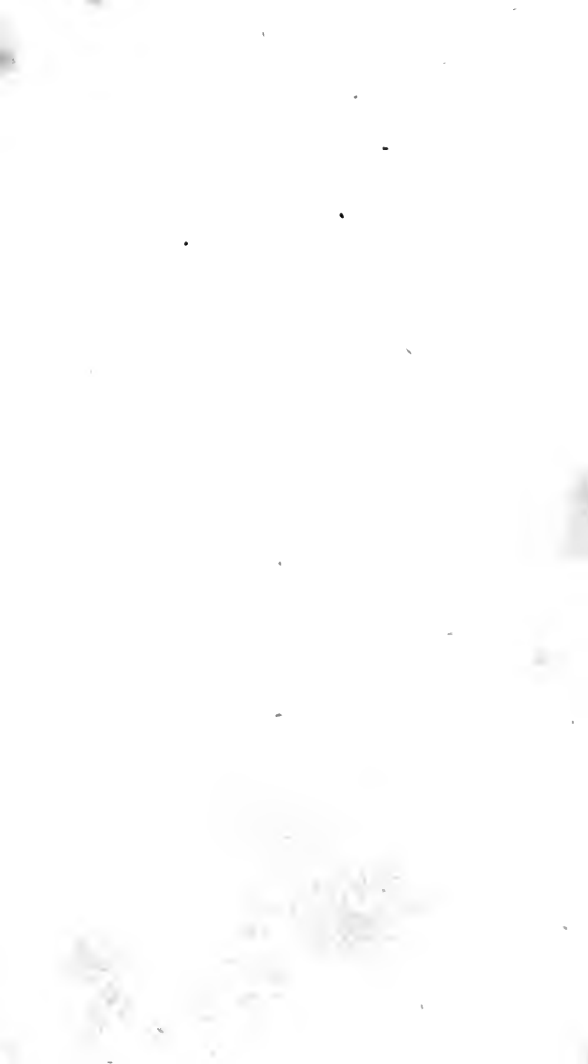
* [See an account of the last hours of Sir Walter Raleigh, in a letter from Thomas Lakin to Sir Thomas Puckering. The letter is dated Nov. 3d, 1618, and may be found in Cayley, Appendix xvii. He says, "His end was, by the general report of all that were present, very Christianlike, and so full of resolution as moved all men to pity and wonder." His last address is termed "a most grave, Christian, and elegant discourse." He adds, "he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension as if he had been come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer; nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible than did he."—H.]

then embraced his friends and took leave of them. Having put off his gown and doublet, he asked to see the axe, and, having taken it, he passed his finger lightly along the edge, saying, "'Tis a sharp remedy, but a sound cure for all diseases." Then, having finished his devotions, he laid his head upon the block, and being told to place himself so that his face might look towards the east, he said, "No matter how the head lie so the heart be right." After a brief interval, in which the motion of his lips showed him to be engaged in prayer, he gave the signal. The executioner hesitating, he slightly raised his head, and said, "What dost thou fear? Strike, man!" At two blows the head was severed from the body, "which never shrunk or altered its position." His relics were given to his now desolate widow. Thus passed away one of earth's bright spirits; sometimes fitful, always brilliant, and at the last serene.]

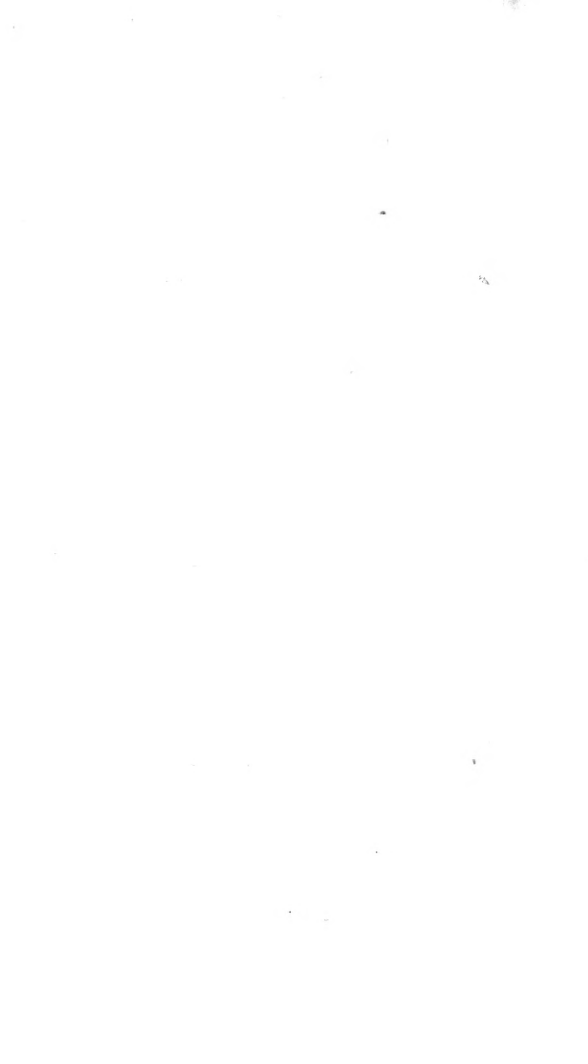
















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